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INSIDE
EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
WEEKLY REVIEW

Ross returns to seal Hebron deal

DAVID MAKOVSKY and JON IMMANUEL

US SPECIAL Middle East peace talks envoy Dennis Ross arrives today in a bid to shepherd the final stages of the protracted Hebron talks to a successful conclusion in the coming days.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat has said he hopes the agreement will be finalized Wednesday. One US official said Washington is heartened by what they call Egypt's "support for the Palestinians wrapping up the talks," in contrast to past opposition.

Arafat returned from Cairo last night for talks with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai to finalize Hebron security issues. The two were to meet at the Erez Checkpoint beginning at 10:30 p.m.

Earlier in the day, Israeli and Palestinian negotiators met in Jerusalem to draft a protocol that will allow the Jewish settlement some control over building in its area and will limit the height of Arab building in the immediate vicinity.

Palestinians went out of their way to say nothing had yet been finalized, and Arafat said in Cairo that all issues were still open. But he has used this as a tactic to add weight to the Palestinians' demands in the past. PA officials have privately admitted this, and no major changes are expected between now and signing the final agreement.

Officials in Jerusalem sharply deny reports of unnamed Palestinian officials suggesting that Israel will give dates on all three further pullbacks. One such official said that Israel would only be providing a definite date for the first pullback.

A US official said last night that if the past is a guide, an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement would not be complete without a finalistic last minute crisis, so each side can convince skeptical colleagues that everything has been tried.

The one issue that Israelis and Palestinians have not found a joint formula on concerns a Palestinian official residence at the Machpela Cave. For security reasons, the previous government demanded exclusive control there, fearing that divided control could only encourage rather than discourage incidents. A joint mobile patrol based at the Cave may resolve the difficulty.

Arafat is now trying to secure a Palestinian presence at the Machpela Cave in direct talks with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, since it is not to be found in the Hebron guidelines of the Oslo 2 agreement.

The US official expressed annoyance with Palestinians, who in their words, "are trying to reopen issues which we have already closed. This has been their tactic for years, namely to use the expectation of an agreement to win last-minute concessions."

A US document spelling out the (Continued on Page 9)



Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz (left) and Trade Union Department head Shlomo Shani talk to reporters yesterday after Shani was released from police custody. (Assaf Shilo/Israel Sun)

Left, Right MKs may abstain in Hebron no-confidence vote

LIAT COLLINS

MKS from both ends of the political spectrum are threatening to abstain in today's no-confidence vote over the Hebron agreement.

Moledet filed the motion last week. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is scheduled to meet with opposition MKs before the vote to persuade them to support him in the plenum vote.

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid said his faction's MKs will abstain because, "although Meretz has no confidence whatsoever in this government, it cannot join Moledet in its efforts to torpedo the redeployment."

Labor MKs are scheduled to meet this morning to discuss how to vote. Yesterday, party leader Shimon Peres and faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen met and said they would advise the faction to abstain.

"This is the first opportunity to topple the government, but on the other hand the faction is committed to the peace process. The faction will demand that the Hebron agreement be submitted to the Knesset to enable MKs to study it and form an opinion," Cohen said.

MK Dalia Itzik (Labor) said the party should vote against the government, even over an issue like the Hebron agreement, if there is a real chance that it could bring the government down. She said Labor would win if new elections were held and then it could carry on the peace process.

MK Michael Kleiner (Likud-Gesher) said he will vote against the government in the no-confidence motion unless the prime minister promises to bring the Hebron agreement to a vote in the Knesset.

Striking today

- Ports, except for tending to perishable products
- Bezeq
- Banks
- Post offices
- Government health services and Kupat Holim Clalit will function on emergency schedules
- Social workers
- Government offices
- Customs and VAT Authority will be closed to the public
- Local authorities
- Israel Broadcasting Authority, except for news broadcasts
- WIZO and Na'amat day care centers
- Trains
- Histadrut
- Magen David Adom and the Fire and Rescue services will operate on a Shabbat schedule
- Employee bus drivers

Histadrut to escalate strike

SARAH HONIG

THE Histadrut plans to escalate its concerted campaign of scheduled selective strikes in different sectors of the economy today, after throwing the country into chaos yesterday afternoon with wildcat strikes said to cause considerable losses both in financial terms and in terms of the country's economic prestige.

Numerous sectors of the economy are to be effected as of 6 this morning (see box).

Airports are to be spared today, after 60 scheduled flights were disrupted due to yesterday afternoon's sudden walkout, hot on the heels of a strike last Thursday (see story, Page 2). The school system also will be unaffected today. At 4 p.m. the Histadrut top brass will meet to decide where strike action will hit tomorrow.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Finance Minister Dan Meridor lashed out at the Histadrut and accused it of sponsoring a political campaign against the government. The employers urged Netanyahu last night to seek back-to-work orders and threatened to withhold deductions from employees' wages which constitute the chief source of income for the Histadrut.

The spark which ostensibly led to the wildcat action at midday yesterday was the detention of Histadrut Trade Union Department chairman Shlomo Shani, who had gone underground over the weekend after the Tel Aviv Labor Court ruled him in contempt. This followed his violation of an order to limit Thursday's strikes in the ports and railroads system to three hours.

Yesterday Shani was picked up by police after he showed up at a Haifa Chemicals demonstration. Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz immediately ordered employees in all sectors of the economy to walk out over what he charged was the first ever attempt in the country to infringe upon the right to strike. His call was heeded at Ben-Gurion Airport, where it caused chaos, at banks, the train system, radio and TV, several private plants and, for 20 minutes at the close of the business day, even in the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

More strike coverage, Page 2

This came on top of scheduled strikes by Electric Cooperation employees, Bezeq and the ports, where the work stoppage is entering its second week and causing particularly great losses.

The wildcat side of the dispute ended some five hours after it began, when the Tel Aviv Labor Court agreed to let Shani go. Earlier in the day there were demonstrations in front of the Histadrut offices at Tel Aviv's Arlozoroff Street, complete with burning tires and the halting of traffic on this major artery.

Netanyahu branded the strike "blatantly political, irresponsible and utterly without any grounds or justification." He added that the "country does not belong to the Histadrut, contrary to what it may think. The state is not its private property."

Representatives of employers' (Continued on Page 9)

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Bank Hapoalim announces the opening of its newest location: in cyberspace.

Our English-language supersite delivers up-to-date information about virtually every bank department and service, along with fresh data about the Israeli economy. It's a great resource for investors, traders, businesspeople, tourists, foreign residents, and the entire worldwide financial community.

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KESHER BAREL

Homeless man dies from exposure

RAINE MARCUS

A HOMELESS man in his twenties was found dead of exposure yesterday in Tel Aviv's Carmel Market.

The man had refused to go to a hospital for treatment three times during the past few days, Magen David Adom spokesman Shuki Gutman said.

MDA ambulances were called to the market three times to treat the man in recent days, and were called again yesterday, but it was too late and he was pronounced dead.

HAPPY NEW YEAR! New Years Eve.

Enjoy a juicy steak, served in the best American tradition, and get
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EILAT, Moon Valley Hotel, Tel. 07-6336380

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NEWS

PM, settlers give conflicting account of meeting

Zo Artzenu calls to indict Peretz for sedition

HERB KEINON

THREE Hebron settlement leaders met with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu yesterday. One of them, Ya'acov Ben-Taryah, said the delegation left the meeting feeling like the biblical Joseph pleading for help on the edge of the pit full of scorpions, and hearing his brothers respond to him: "Go to hell."

The Prime Minister's Office, in contrast, released a statement after the meeting saying that the delegation, which also include Yeshivat Shavei Hebron head Moshe Bleicher and Hillel Horowitz, came to "show support for Netanyahu and to express their concern for the settlement."

"The prime minister made it clear to them that the IDF is not leaving Hebron, but only redeploying, and that the IDF forces will remain in the Jewish section of the city and will continue to provide security for the city's Jews," the statement read.

"We left the meeting with a difficult feeling," Ben-Taryah said. "Not against the man, but against what is happening on the ground."

Ben-Taryah said the group discussed their fears with Netanyahu, and that he listened and said, "He is trying." Ben-Taryah quoted Netanyahu as saying he can not do any-

HERB KEINON

thing about what the settlement claims are plans for released Palestinian prisoners to move into houses the Palestinian Authority is renovating directly adjacent to the Avraham Avinu compound.

"What good is a joint patrol on a hill going to do me," Ben-Taryah asked, "if released murderers are going to be living three meters from my window?"

Meanwhile, Match Ma'amatz, the group that has organized dozens of protests against the Labor government and the Oslo agreements over the past four years, said yesterday it will not currently protest against the government.

"This is our government," said Ya'acov Novick, head of Match Ma'amatz. "He [Netanyahu] wants what we want. He is not like [former prime minister Shimon] Peres, who gave Arafat everything he wanted."

Novick said he did not want to "speculate" when asked if the decision not to protest, and not to join a call coming from other right-wing groups for volunteers to go to Hebron in expectation of the redeployment, is based on information

that the signing of the agreement may not take place this week.

Novick distanced himself from the ads appearing on Arutz 7, under the headline "Draft notice: We are returning to the struggle for Eretz Yisrael," calling for the names, addresses and phone numbers of volunteers willing to take part in protest actions.

David Wilder, a spokesman for the Hebron settlement, said one plan the settlement is considering is to bring hundreds of people to Hebron, not to confront the IDF, but rather to provide moral support and add to the sense of security for the 54 families living in the city.

"If there is a signing," Wilder said, "things here will change. It is important for people to come and stay as long as they can, to show support to the community."

Meanwhile, two firebombs were thrown near Beit Hadassah yesterday, and two more firebombs were buried at an IDF patrol on the Halhool bypass road, as a wave of firebombs in the area continues. No injuries or damage were reported.

In a separate incident, a car belonging to a Palestinian Authority official was set alight in Hebron yesterday, about 100 meters from the Avraham Avinu compound.

ZO Artzenu head Moshe Feiglin, on trial for sedition for his part in organizing a political protest last year that blocked a number of the country's roads, called on the attorney general to start legal proceedings against Amir Peretz for his part in closing down much of the country yesterday.

In a letter to Michael Ben-Yair, Feiglin wrote, "I am honored to file a criminal complaint against the Histadrut general secretary for sedition and breaking criminal laws with the general strike, contravening the law that obligates a cooling down period [before a strike]."

"I do not need to explain my complaint," Feiglin wrote, "and I have the honor of referring you to the state's attorney who accused me and my colleagues of acts that do not come close to those of Peretz, who shut down the entire country, caused billions of shekels of damage, led to an amount of suffering to the majority of citi-

zens in the state that is impossible to estimate - and all this without any real reason, only because of a power struggle and for political goals."

Feiglin, on trial in Jerusalem's Magistrates court with Shmuel Sackett, wrote that if Ben-Yair does not open criminal proceedings against Peretz, "I will bring this complaint, as an example of the rule of law under your guidance, to the court where the charges of sedition against me are being heard."

Molefet MK Benny Elon, who was indicted with Feiglin and Sackett but whose trial has been postponed because in the mean time he won a Knesset seat and his accompanying immunity, said he is "disgusted by the hypocritical march of the 'defenders of the law' who are encouraging breaking the law, contempt of court and organized sedition in bringing down the government outside of the Knesset."

Finance Committee approves end to women's tax credit

EVELYN GORDON

THE Knesset Finance Committee approved the elimination of the half tax-credit for married women yesterday, but it is still not clear the government can get the proposal through the plenum.

The committee also approved the 1997 budget yesterday, with only minor amendments.

The cancellation of the half tax-credit, which is expected to save the government NIS 270 million next year, was approved 9-8 on a nearly straight party-line vote.

The vote angered women's groups and opposition MKs. "This is a government that hates women," said Rafi Elul (Labor). And Na'amat, the women's branch of the Histadrut, repeated the exact same statement.

The only coalition MK to vote against the cut was Michael Kleiner (Likud-Gesher), who said that

while he personally supports cancelling the credit, he received orders from his party to vote against it on the grounds that it would hurt some lower-income women.

"We're also bothered by the fact that they told us there was no money [for social issues]... but there seems to be NIS 1 billion for all kinds of coalition agreements," Kleiner said, adding that this seems to be the real reason for the sudden decision to cancel the tax credit.

The remainder of the coalition stayed with the government, even though some were personally opposed to the proposal. Silvan Shalom (Likud), who heads the coalition in the committee, said he thought cancellation of the credit was wrong. However, he said, the

government only came up with this idea to replace some of the proposals the committee mixed last week - such as a planned cut in child allowances and a planned hike in co-payment for medicines - and there is a limit to how often the committee can say no, if it is serious about reducing the budget deficit.

Whether this coalition discipline will hold in the plenum, however, is still not clear. In addition to Gesher, women MKs such as Naomi Blumenthal (Likud) and Marina Solodkin (Yisrael Ba'aliya) are also threatening to vote against the measure.

The NIS 190b. budget itself, meanwhile, passed with the support of all coalition members, 10-7.

Only a few minor changes were introduced into the budget. One was that NIS 25m. of the Housing Ministry's budget will be specifically earmarked for the construction of rental housing; another was that the Education Ministry's budget for assisting dormitory students will continue to have a sub-category for haredi schools (NIS 49m.), as it has in past years, rather than this money being subsumed in the general dormitory budget.

The only change with budgetary implications was the decision to restore NIS 10m. which had been cut from the budget for rent subsidies for families with many children, since the religious parties, which are the main beneficiaries of this aid, objected to the cut. The additional money will apparently come from the Housing Ministry's budgetary reserve.

"After long months of work, the state budget has been approved with only a few changes," Shalom said. "This budget is different from its predecessors, and heralds a difficult year, a year of [economic] recovery... in the hope that this will return the economy to the path of growth."

Opposition MKs painted a different picture.

"There is still NIS 2b. that does not exist in the budget," said Avraham Shohat (Labor), citing items such as coalition promises to the haredim. "And of course the 'cut' [in the budget] is to a large extent new taxation rather than a cut."

Committee chairman Avraham Ravitz (United Torah Judaism) said the exact sum that will be added to the haredim's budget has not yet been determined.

CLARIFICATION

THE report on the Jewish National Fund in yesterday's paper referred solely to the JNF of America.



Morocco's royal court ophthalmologist, Prof. Mustafa Rail (right), looks on as Prof. David Ben-Ezra of Hadassah University Hospital examines Idan Varda yesterday. Rafi, who heads a 400-bed department at the University of Rabat, invited Rafi to discuss joint research and treatment projects. Ben-Ezra, a senior Hadassah ophthalmologist who was born in Morocco, invited Rafi to visit. Rafi said he was gratified by the large number of Arabs being cared for in the hospital's eye department and the Mother and Child Center in Ein Kerem. They constitute about half the patients at the center, and 30% of those being treated in the hospital's eye department.

With deep sorrow we announce the death of our beloved wife, mother and grandmother

LILLAH KOSKY ז"ל

on Shabbat, December 28, 1996 (18 Tevet)

Mourning by her

Husband, Mark Kosky, Netanya

Son and daughter-in-law, David and Danielle Kosky, London

Daughter and son-in-law, Judy and Paul Shaviv, Montreal

Daughter and son-in-law, Ruth and David Edel, Ra'anana

and her many loving grandchildren

Shiva in London.

HYMAN (Hymie) KATZ

has passed away.

The funeral will take place today, Monday, December 30, at the Yarkon Cemetery at 12 noon.

Sadly missed by his:

Wife, Betty

Daughters, Sharon and Elaine

Son-in-law, Itzik

Grandchildren, Sian and Alon

Sister, Sonia

Forever in our hearts

Shiva will be held at 63 Rehov Zahal, Kiron.

TOURO COLLEGE

mourns the loss of

EUGENE HOLLANDER

visionary founder of Touro College New York, philanthropist and generous supporter of Jewish causes and institutions, and extends its condolences to his wife **Monica**

May the merits of their many acts of charity and

NEWSLINE DR. AVRAHAM FRIEDMAN

JUDY SIEGEL

Friedman is a labor-relations expert at the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Are the current strikes, called by the Histadrut over the jailing of trade union head Shlomo Shaul, unprecedented?

The labor unrest we are seeing is exceptional, different from the relations between the general labor federation and governments in the past. The Netanyahu government views the Histadrut as the opposition. But the government should be aware that the Histadrut is not of one political voice; perhaps 40 percent to 50% of the works committees represent the Likud. And the government also is making a mistake by presuming that the labor federation has completely lost its vitality and cannot be a partner.

Is the head-to-head conflict due to the inexperience of government leaders, as well as a loss of self-confidence among officials of the pared-down Histadrut?

The government is showing a lack of confidence, which leads to an out-and-out struggle. With the government's unprecedentedly putting a union leader in prison for not showing up at a labor court hearing, the other side takes an extreme position. Instead, the government must find a way to moderate the dispute and sit down and talk with the workers' representatives.

How much of a factor is the Histadrut's desire to show who's boss in a confrontation with the new government, after the labor federation itself has become much smaller in membership and financial resources?

Under Histadrut chairman Haim Ramon, the federation did separate itself from Kapat Holim Clalit and Hevrat Haovdim, and this forced it to become more active in fighting for workers. There are now some 500,000 Histadrut members and 200,000 others who pay organization fees; this is still a large chunk of the 1.25 million salaried workers in the economy, but considerably less than the 90% of all workers that used to be in the Histadrut.

Shani should not have been served with court orders as an individual; he represents an organization. This was an error, undoubtedly due to government inexperience. What is needed now is action by intermediaries - whether they be academicians, politicians or others - to create a breather so that neither side can claim a victory.

Does the public support the strike?

I think more of the public support the strike than oppose it. If they were against it, they would continue working. Nothing would happen to them if they disregarded the Histadrut's call.

Passengers' nightmare continues at B-G Airport

HAIM SHAPIRO

THE scenes of disorder and unhappiness which prevailed at Ben-Gurion Airport on Thursday were, if anything, intensified yesterday as passengers waited anxiously for their flights with no assurance whatsoever that planes would take off any time in the near future.

Some waited stoically, while others milled about. A few were reduced to weeping. However, passengers were generally quiet, with no scenes of shouting.

The strike, called without warning at 11:30 a.m., was lifted just as suddenly at 5 p.m. However, during the six-and-a-half hour period, 27 scheduled flights failed to take off and airport officials said it would take many hours to absorb the backlog. They said they would serve and slot planes according to when they had landed.

Airports Authority spokesman Yechiel Amitai said that during much of the time between 11:30 a.m. and midnight, planes were scheduled to take off every five minutes, leaving little time to slot additional flights in between.

As in Thursday's strike, arriving planes were not serviced until the strike ended. Thus planes on the tarmac could not take off. A few airlines had to cancel flights altogether since the flight crews, waiting on call, would have exceeded their allowable number of working hours.

"We have had to tell passengers that they can either wait here or go home and wait for an announcement to return, without knowing what to advise them. We have no control and we can't even make a forecast," Amitai said.

As he spoke, the works committee suddenly authorized workers to service five charter flights waiting to go to Europe. Within minutes, passengers who had been waiting listlessly in line or sitting in airport restaurants were suddenly on their feet, anxious to check in. During the strike, some passengers had actually gone through the security checks, carried out by workers who are temporary employees of the Airports Authority, and thus not under union rule.

However, the airline staffs had been unable to check in the passengers for fear that the baggage would hopelessly jam the conveyor systems.

El Al spokesman Nachman Kleiman said that six outgoing flights had been delayed affecting 1,150 passengers. During the strike, he said, another six flights had landed, forcing passengers either to leave without their bags or to wait two to five hours for their luggage.

Third Way threatens to leave coalition if Jordan Valley land is given to PA

HERB KEINON

IF the government decides to cede to the Palestinians a 380 dunam plot in the Jordan Valley called the Yugoslavian Experimental Farm, the Third Way way will leave the government, MK Alex Lubotsky (Third Way) warned yesterday.

Lubotsky made this statement after he and fellow Third Way MKs Emanuel Zissman and Yehuda Harari went to the site, even though it has been declared a closed military zone, and worked

deal that will give the Palestinians rights over [this] area."

Lubotsky said that ceding this land - which Israel maintains belongs to Moshav Masua, but which the Palestinians say is theirs according to the Oslo accords - "would cut the Jordan Valley in half" and give the Palestinians a coveted foothold in the region.

Lubotsky said the three MKs went to the site yesterday because of the fear that with "all the attention on Hebron, there may be a

Four die on roads

FOUR people were killed and almost 150 others were injured in over 90 accidents yesterday. Roland Hhovansso, 38, of Tel Aviv, was killed when he lost control of his car on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv Highway. A car hit Rotshild Yisraelov, 55, of Tel Aviv, while he was crossing Sderot Har Zion in Tel Aviv. He died immediately. In Haifa, another pedestrian was killed while crossing the street.

RAMAT BEIT...

Panel to probe scam involving immigrants' savings

HUNDREDS of recent immigrants from the CIS have come a step closer to recovering their life savings, which were lost when they tried to transfer the money here to build their lives anew.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu discussed their plight with ministers and top government officials yesterday and ordered a committee established to examine all aspects of the problem.

The committee, headed by the justice minister and including the finance and absorption ministers, is to present its recommendations within 30 days.

Netanyahu expressed his concern for the immigrants, who he said were innocent victims.

Vera Gutkina, spokeswoman for more than 500 Russian immigrants who were victims of an apparent scam, expressed satisfaction at the prime minister's move.

"This is what we've waited all this time to hear: that the government is taking our problem seri-

ously," she said.

The immigrants lost thousands of dollars each when they tried to transfer money here through Israsov, a company to which aliyah counselors referred them. Many of the counselors operated in conjunction with the Liaison Bureau, which is under the aegis of the Prime Minister's Office.

A group of Ukrainian immigrants lost their money in the same way to a company operating in Ukraine. There are additional victims from throughout the CIS.

Both the Russian and the Ukrainian groups have filed civil suits against the companies involved and their heads, the Jewish Agency and the state of Israel. But legal action could drag on for years, and meanwhile the immigrants' situation is desperate.

MK Naomi Blumenthal, head of the Knesset Aliya and Absorption

Committee, last week submitted a private member's bill calling for the establishment of a committee to determine compensation, to be paid by the state, for all immigrants from the CIS who lost money in similar schemes.

Gutkina said other MKs have added their signatures to the bill and all that is needed now is cabinet support.

Gutkina and Victor Gopman, chairman of the Russian group, met with Trade and Industry Minister Natan Sharansky last week to enlist his support. According to Gutkina, his response was very positive.

But yesterday's action by the prime minister was a crucial turning point in the immigrants' struggle.

"Since a vote is usually taken about 45 days after a bill is presented, the report by the committee [appointed by Netanyahu] will be just in time," Gutkina said. "I hope it will give the cabinet a basis for supporting the bill."



Skater Christian Lambert performs on the frozen fountains in front of the Eiffel Tower yesterday. Dozens of Parisians took advantage of unusually cold weather to enjoy the ice. (Reuters)

Peaceful end to Peru crisis seems possible

LIMA (Reuters) - A peaceful end to Peru's 12-day-old hostage crisis looked more possible yesterday after the government and Marxist rebels still holding 83 VIP captives softened "no compromise" positions and met face-to-face for the first time.

President Alberto Fujimori sent his mediator, Education Minister Domingo Palermo, for a long meeting on Saturday with rebel leader Nestor Cerna Cantolini inside the besieged Japanese ambassador's residence.

The fruit of that meeting was immediate: the release of 20 hostages, leaving 83 behind.

With the exception of several 1993 meetings Fujimori had with Abimael Guzman, the jailed leader of the Shining Path guerrilla movement, no government official has held direct talks with Peruvian insurgents in 16 years of conflict.

In a statement read by one of the newly-freed captives, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) guerrillas expressed a willingness "to withdraw from the occupied residence by way of dialogue."

Police block Belgrade protest march

BELGRADE (Reuters) - Serbian security police blocked a march by 50,000 people in Belgrade yesterday in the 42nd straight day of protests against election fraud. The protest column was intercepted after it poured into Belgrade's main pedestrian mall following fiery speeches by leaders of the Zajedno (Together) opposition coalition in Republic Square.

Riot police were enforcing a ban on street marches imposed by the ruling Socialist party (SPS) after a December 24 riot involving Zajedno protesters and government loyalists brought into Belgrade to show support for President Slobodan Milosevic.

Police created two cordons to box in demonstrators. Protesters reacted, as before, by shouting "Murderers" and "Dogs" at police, barking for good measure. A carnival atmosphere set in with some demonstrators joining hands in Serbian folk dances.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Algerian militants cut throats of 28 people

ALGIERS (AP) - A band of militants cut off the roads and phone lines to a small village yesterday and killed 28 people there with long knives and axes, the government said.

The region around Ain Defla, 145 kilometers south of the capital, Algiers, has been a frequent site of random attacks by Islamic militants. The killings at Ain Defla came hours before a car bomb exploded in a suburb of Algiers, injuring at least 20 people in the third such bombing in the past week, authorities said.

Greek ship capsizes, 20 people missing

ATHENS, Greece (AP) - A Greek ship capsized in the Aegean Sea in storm-driven waters and rescue workers, who had found four bodies, said they doubted that any of the 20 people aboard had survived, Merchant Marine Ministry officials said yesterday.

Ministry official Oriante Koundouroyanni said rescue efforts would continue to try to locate the missing people, among them the wife and 10-year-old daughter of the first engineer and the wife of a crew member, all believed to be trapped within the cement carrier *Dystos*. She said that six divers entered the *Dystos* and found the bodies of four crew members, which were not identified further, near the dining room. Divers ended their search as darkness set in and as the *Dystos* was towed to shallow waters about four nautical miles to the west.

Vandals ravage Jewish cemetery in Rome

ROME (AP) - More than 300 people stood in freezing rain in a Jewish cemetery yesterday for a special service after more than a dozen gravestones were attacked by vandals, who left behind Nazi swastikas and the phrase from a concentration camp gate.

Headstones were toppled and the Star of David and name plates were picked off. The vandals also hung four swastikas from a wire and wrote "Arbeit macht frei."

MKs petition court: Tel Aviv burial society needs manager

THE Religious Affairs Ministry should appoint a manager for the Tel Aviv hebra kadisha (burial society), to straighten out the financial mess in the organization, two MKs demanded in a petition to the High Court of Justice yesterday.

MKs Avraham Poraz (Meretz-Shinui) and Yona Yabav (Labor) noted that the burial society is a government-funded monopoly which provides a crucial service to some 1.5 million people in 11 cities in the Tel Aviv area. As such, they said, the government has an obligation to see that the organization is run properly.

However, the organization racked up a NIS 328 million deficit in the first half of the year, due largely to wildly excessive

EVELYN GORDON

salaries, the petition said. As of March 1995, for instance, the average wage paid by the society was some NIS 26,000 a month. In 1993, the chairman's salary cost the society NIS 1.3 million a year, a half-time comptroller cost NIS 413,000 for a year, an ordinary teller cost NIS 384,000, a driver cost NIS 270,000, and a messenger cost NIS 212,000, the petition said.

In addition, the petition said, all employees are paid 15 monthly salaries a year when it is a leap year according to the Hebrew calendar, and 14 monthly salaries a year when it is not.

Furthermore, it said, the organization has engaged in a number of

other corrupt financial practices. For instance, money earmarked for development work on cemeteries was instead distributed among the employees, and one of the senior managers was given a loan out of organization funds which has never been repaid.

Previous attempts to get the company to rehabilitate itself have failed, the petition added. A professional manager hired to reform the organization was recently kicked out. Therefore, it said, the only solution is for the ministry to appoint someone to do the job.

Since repeated requests to the ministry have not elicited a positive response, the two MKs petitioned the High Court, the petition concluded.

MDA warns public against hypothermia

WITH the sudden drop in temperatures, Magen David Adom yesterday urged the public to protect themselves - especially the elderly and infants - against hypothermia.

Every year, MDA ambulance staffers take dozens of them to emergency rooms for treatment due to exposure to the cold.

The risk is high especially among the homeless, the elderly and babies exposed to severe cold and moisture. Some cases even end in the patient's death. Those whose body temperature drops

JUDY SIEGEL

below 35° Centigrade are especially in danger, as the cold can affect the brain, heart and skeletal muscles.

The initial signs of hypothermia are a feeling of burning or pain in the affected skin, which turns bright red. However, long exposure to cold makes the skin turn a wax-like white, and as a result of affected nerves, the victim may not feel any pain at all.

In cases of hypothermia, MDA

should be called immediately. The victim should be brought immediately to a warm, protected place, and any wet garments should be removed, and he should be wrapped in warm blankets for gradual warming.

Cold hands or feet can be warmed with a healthy person's warm hands if necessary. Don't give him anything hot to drink unless he is conscious; never give the victim alcohol or let him smoke, as these would cause the blood vessels to contract even more, MDA advised.

OPEN LETTER

To Minister Aviador Kahalani

Before the elections, Netanyahu promised that we would not withdraw from Hebron. He signed an agreement with Habad that no part of Eretz Yisrael would be given up. "Agreements have to be honored," he says, but he means apparently, only agreements with the Arabs.

In the Knesset, Netanyahu has praised "the Golan pioneers" - but he has promised that, during his present term as prime minister, he will sign a peace agreement with Syria.

Dear Minister Kahalani

**Can't you read the handwriting on the wall?
First withdrawal from Hebron, and then
the Golan Heights!**

In the Jordan Valley, Netanyahu-Mordechai-Levy are transferring the "Yugoslav farm" to Arafat.

Dear Minister Kahalani

**Can't you read the map? Hebron, the Golan Heights,
and the Jordan Valley share the same destiny.**

You should know that:

With the same pen stroke with which you cast off Hebron, and discard another slice of Judea and Samaria, you also subject the Golan Heights and the Jordan Valley to the same fate!

Cut and Send

Dear Member of the Third Way,
The front line of defense of the Golan Heights and the Jordan Valley is in Hebron!

Write, phone, or fax Minister Kahalani, Tel. 02-530-8500; Fax. 02-581-1832, and Third Way members of the Knesset

Or write to us - and we'll forward your letter!

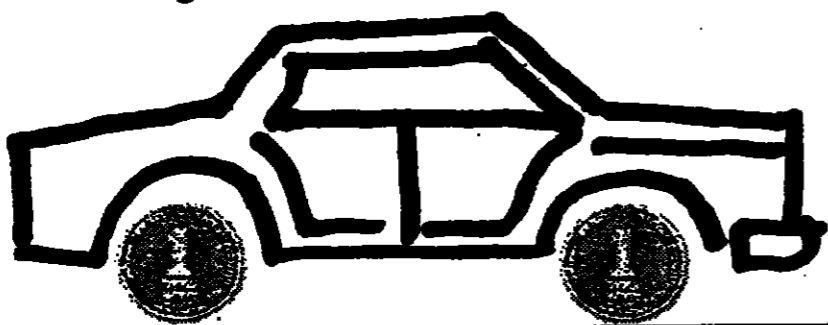
Contributions and comments to: P.O.B. 18608, Jerusalem 91184, Fax. 02-536-1852

Presented by:

* Professors for a Strong Israel * Gamla Shall Not Fall Again * The Committee for the Abolition of the Autonomy * Zo Artzeinu

Ministry of Transport

A New Year - A New Method for Calculating for the Annual Vehicle License Fee



From January 1, 1997, the method for calculating the annual licensing fee for private cars changes

How does it work?

Till now, the fee was based on engine size. From January 1997, the fee will be determined by parameters that are technically more appropriate. This method has been in operation for 1996 and later model private cars, since April 1996.

In 1997, vehicle owners will receive a license renewal form, on which a fee group is indicated.

There are six groups, corresponding to vehicle values.

Every vehicle has been assigned to one of these groups, in accordance with a number of parameters: make, engine size, year of manufacture as given on the vehicle license, and the price of an identical or comparable new vehicle. No account has been taken of the value of used vehicles, as given in used-car price lists.

How many grades are there in each group?

Group	Age of Vehicle Up to 3 years old	Age of Vehicle 4 - 8 years old	Age of Vehicle Over 8 years old
1	867	800	542
2	844	759	684
3	1020	919	827
4	1395	1256	1130
5	1979	1782	1603
6	2820	2397	2037

What else should you know?

* NIS101 is added to the fee, for the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

* For a vehicle with a diesel engine, there is an additional charge of NIS2141.

* License fees paid in 1996 were paid, in accordance with the method in force before this change was introduced.

Spokesperson, Ministry of Transport

A Message to the People of Israel

**When Gamla and Masada fell 2000 years ago, Jerusalem fell
Today Hebron, tomorrow Jerusalem**

You have almost lost the battle for Hebron, and as you back away from your right, and your decision to build homes for Jews on Jewish owned land next to the Mount of Olives (Ras el-Amud), we see that even the red lines within Jerusalem are being whittled away.

World-wide, the calls are growing for the redivision of your Holy City

We disassociate ourselves from the un-Christian statement placed by clerics as a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* on December 21, 1996, in which they call on President Bill Clinton to pressure Israel into sharing sovereignty over Jerusalem, the historical and spiritual capital of the Jewish people.

It is inconceivable that Christian clerics should show more concern for the claims of the Arab/Islamic world than for what is written in their own Bible concerning Jerusalem. They could not quote even one verse to support their call for the redivision of Israel's capital.

**Together with millions of Christians around the world,
we want to say to your regathered nation:
"Do not lose heart!"**

God has not brought you back to your land from the four corners of the earth (Isaiah 41:12) just to have you surrender your biblical and historical rights, and the security of the remnant of your nation, to those who have demonstrated their hatred, and their desire to destroy you.

**You have been brought back to be a light to all of the nations
And a light to the nations you shall be!"
We stand in solidarity with you**

Thus says the Lord GOD:

"I will gather you from the peoples, assemble you from the countries where you have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel." (Ezekiel 11:17)

"I will bring them back, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem."
(Zechariah 8:8)

and

"As one whom his mother comforts, so I will comfort you;
and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem."
(Isaiah 66:13)

Jerusalem

The City of Judah (2 Chronicles 25:28)

The City of David (2 Samuel 5:6-7)

The City of God (Psalm 46:4)

The International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem
Bridges for Peace
Jerusalem Vistas - Israel Vision
Americans for a Safe Israel
Zion's Gate International
National Unity Coalition for Israel
American Academic Alliance for Israel
Christian Friends of Israel Community Development Foundation

Reaching for Excellence
The Jewish Horizons Radio Network
Wake Up Ministries
Operation Tarshish
A Praise in the Earth, Inc.
Jewish Action Committee
Wake Up Coalition
Traditional Values Coalition

The good, the bad, and Demi

THIS will probably be remembered as the year when Hollywood blew up the White House. With *Independence Day*, that is, the systematic detonation of the earth's major metropolitan centers by evil extraterrestrials (and an army of skilled special-effects experts) unfolded before the eyes of millions of viewers worldwide, making Roland Emmerich's tech-no-blockbuster the most profitable movie of all time. *ID* was far from the best film of the year, neither was it the worst. It was, simply, the biggest.

What follows is my list of the 10 best and worst flicks screened commercially in Israel in the last 12 months. It isn't exhaustive (I haven't seen every single film released), but it does provide my own high and low picks from the 130 or so new movies that I have watched during this last calendar year. In no particular order:

The best

BILLED by distributors as a kiddie pic, Chris Noonan's delightful barnyard fable, *Babe*, was actually one of the more emotionally sophisticated movies of 1996. Using state-of-the-art computer techniques and lots of literal animal emotion, the filmmakers managed to create a world in which spirited dialogue between pigs, geese and dogs seemed utterly normal.

In *Heat*, Michael Mann's brutal but fascinating cops-and-robbers movie, Al Pacino and Robert De Niro faced off as a dedicated LA police detective and a ruthless professional criminal - enemies and soul mates whose inevitable final confrontation gave the three-hour-long film the obsessive quality of a great prize fight, pitched toward the knock-out punch.

Pacino also starred in *City Hall*, a knotty political drama about the inner workings of the New York City mayor's office. Harold Becker directed in a gritty, straight-ahead style and a team of accomplished screenwriters

FILM ROUNDUP

ADINA HOFFMAN

(including former NYC deputy mayor Ken Lipper) offered a complex and unsensationalized view of what really goes on in the backrooms frequented by the Big Apple's head honcho. (Pacino's directing debut, *Looking for Richard* was a close contender for this top-ten list, which gives the actor the stellar record of three out of four fine films in a year: the syrupy *Two Bits* was his only slip-up.)

Sense and Sensibility/Emma: Both Ang Lee and Douglas McGrath skillfully avoided costume-drama stuffiness in their respective adaptations of these Jane Austen novels.

They also found different ways to convey the wit, drama and delicate behavioral nuances that fill the almost 200-year-old books. And several important new talents emerged from the films: *Sense* won actress Emma Thompson a well-deserved screenwriting Oscar and introduced lovely Kate Winslet to the world. *Emma* is sure to make Gwyneth Paltrow a star.

Albert Finney gave a devastating performance in English director Suri Krishnamma's small, sad *A Man of No Importance*, about a middle-aged Oscar Wilde enthusiast who discovers the hard way that life often imitates art.

The most interesting new film noir in years, Carl Franklin's smooth genre flick, *Devil in a Blue Dress*, was based on a Walter Mosley mystery novel about a black World War II vet (Denzel Washington) who finds himself dragged into an elaborate plot involving several white candidates for Los Angeles mayor. Racial tensions added a startling twist to the standard potboiler outline.

Roald Dahl's 1961 children's book, *James and the Giant Peach*, came to life in director Henry Selick's fantastical stop-motion animation about a lonely little boy who befriends a pack of

overgrown garden bugs and embarks with them on a fruity adventure.

The gentlest and most satisfying of brothers Joel and Ethan Coen's movies to date, *Fargo* was a dryly funny little murder mystery, set in the snowbound emptiness of Minnesota and starring the hilarious Frances McDormand as a hugely pregnant rural chief of police.

In English director Michael Winterbottom's inspired first film,

Lone Star, John Sayles' latest and richest film, presented a rolling novelistic portrait of a small Texas border town where history and the present are both alive and well.

And, finally, the winner of this year's Grand Prix at Cannes, Danish director Lars Von Trier's *Breaking the Waves* is a beautiful, horrifying movie about the religious and sexual suffering of an innocent young Scottish woman (played miraculously by Emily Watson) whose new husband is paralyzed in an oil-rig accident. Von Trier's film is not only the most morally ambitious film of 1996, it's one of the rawest and most sensual. (A full review will appear next Monday.)

The worst

THE Scarlet Letter: Otherwise known as Demi Does Salem, Roland Joffe's soft porn, politically correct travesty of the great Hawthorne novel was a howler from start to finish.

Striptease wasn't much better. This time Moore earned \$12.5 million for taking off most of her clothes and doing her aerobic exercises. It wasn't sexy; it wasn't funny. It was plain old-fashioned dull.

An especially ugly Schwarzenegger vehicle, *Eraser* worked like one of the high-power assault weapons it glorified, by blasting

us till we were limp. *The Substitute* did the same, but much, much more cynically. Tom Berenger starred as a mercenary soldier who unleashed his expert combat skills on student gang members at a Miami public school.

Showgirls reunited the *Basic Instinct* directing/writing team of Paul Verhoeven and Joe Eszterhas, to dismal results - a supposedly titillating, actually repulsive backstage saga, set around the topless floorshows of the Las Vegas strip. Never has a crummy exploitation picture taken itself quite so seriously.

An Eye for an Eye marked a nadir in director John Schlesinger's distinguished career, pitting a hysterical Sally Field against a growling Kiefer Sutherland in an intelligence-insulting revenge fantasy.

Never Talk to Strangers featured Rebecca De Mornay as a psychologist, threatened by one of the men in her life. In the end - possibly the most ludicrous of 1996 - it turned out that she was stalking herself...

But sleazy big-budget American movies weren't the only bad ones this year: Merchant and Ivory's *Jefferson in Paris* was a cadaverous self-parody of the "tasteful" literary dramas in which the team specializes.

Greek master Theo Angelopoulos was responsible for one of the most pretentious films of the year, *Ulysses' Gaze*, which took the imposing subject of the Balkan conflict and pumped it full of enough decorative hot air to float the Goodyear blimp. The movie also managed the neat trick of making dynamic Harvey Keitel sound like one of the living dead.

And, finally, Kevin Costner can always be counted on to offer up one of the year's dreariest works. In 1994 there was *Wyatt Earp*; 1995 brought *Waterworld*; and in 1996, Costner starred in *Tin Cup*, an exceptionally tedious film about the love between a man and his golf clubs.

What treasures, we wonder, does 1997 hold in store?



The best (left column, from top): 'Emma,' 'City Hall,' 'Devil in a Blue Dress.' The worst (right column, from top): 'Striptease,' 'Never Talk to Strangers,' 'The Substitute.'

NEWS OF THE MUSE

A 'queen' in Bethlehem

Israel's "Queen of the East," singer Zehava Ben, gave a Christmas concert in Bethlehem, entertaining a 900-strong audience at the Golden Roof Banquet Hall with a selection of her most popular Hebrew songs. The dance floor filled up, the moment Ben took the stage, and by the end of the night young men were dancing on the tables. The raven-haired, twenty-something Ben is enormously popular among Palestinians. "We don't look at her as a Jew or an Israeli," explained a Moslem admirer at the Christmas show, "we look at her as a singer, a good singer." On New Year's Eve, Ben will perform in Paris.

Helen Kaye

Gary Bertini goes east

Conductor Gary Bertini has accepted a three-year contract starting April 1998 as music director of the Tokyo Metropolitan Symphony Orchestra, the first time a non-Japanese has been appointed. Maestro Bertini, who first conducted the orchestra in 1981, is affectionately nicknamed "the Mahler conductor" in Tokyo because of his concerts with TMSO of that composer's Second and Sixth Symphonies. Bertini, who has been affiliated with the New Israel Opera since its founding in 1986, will resign as NIO music director in July 1997.

Helen Kaye

Learning in London

The 32-strong senior class of the Ramat Gan Beit Zvi Drama School is off to the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art (LAMDA) from January 3-19 where they'll hear a lecture by director Peter James, a frequent visitor to local stages, who last directed here at the Beersheba Theater in 1994. The LAMDA visit is part of an intensive theater fortnight during which they'll see at least 20 plays from Shakespeare to the fringe, including James's West End production of the classic farce *Phander*. The lucky students have to pay their airfare and hotel bills, but they're getting the tickets for next to nothing.

Helen Kaye

Teaching at Nissan Nativ

British actor Bruce Myers, remembered for his performance in *The Man Who...* directed by Peter Brook at the 1995 Israel Festival, has been spending the last two weeks giving workshops to professional actors and students from the Nissan Nativ acting school. Myers has worked with Brook at the director's world-famous Patis International Theater Center since Brook founded it in 1970. Myers has also worked extensively with other theatrical innovators such as Joseph Chaikin in New York and Andre Serban in Poland.

Helen Kaye

To see or not to see?

That is the question American movie-goers are now pondering before deciding whether to brave Kenneth Branagh's new lavishly adapted *Hamlet*, which, at four-and-a-half hours, is the second-longest motion picture ever shown in America. Branagh both directs the film and stars as the young prince himself. It will be shown with an intermission, much to the delight of cinema managers who say this will double the sales of popcorn. The Belfast-born actor and director, who turned 36 this month, has already made films of *Henry V*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Othello*, and *A Winter's Tale*, and is rumored to want to bring the entire collected works of Shakespeare to the screen.

Dein Gross

Who's art

John Entwistle, The Who's lanky bass player, is showing off 20 years' worth of drawings. The show first timed up in the US this year when Entwistle was touring with the band. Since mid-year, his "Who's Art?" shows have been opening simultaneously with the band's performances of its Quadrophonia rock opera in major cities. The more than 30 pen-and-ink drawings are mainly of other rock stars including fellow Who members Pete Townshend, Roger Daltrey, and the late Keith Moon, but also include such gems as "The German tourist" and "The American tourist." The exhibit also includes what may be Entwistle's most famous work, the fibograph "Who By Numbers," which was taken from the original drawing featured on the band's 1975 hit album.

Reuter

Correction

In last Tuesday's article about Dvora Bertonov, the choreographer's name was inadvertently misspelled.

The opera Stalin hated

HELEN KAYE

DMITRI Shostakovich "may have looked weak and sickly," says director Irina Molostova, "but he was passionate and knew how to love. The opera reflects that, very much."

The opera she's directing for the New Israeli Opera is *Lady Macbeth from Mzensk* or *Katerina Ismailova*, the composer's only opera. The conductor is the incredible Valery Gergiev, music director of the Kirov, and the NIO/Kirov co-production (the first), opens at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center on January 5.

Molostova has been a senior director at the Kirov for many years. She's tall, thin, white-haired, slightly buck-toothed, and captivating. She has vivid, bright blue eyes, and she talks with her whole body, her gestures so expressive that even though she speaks through an interpreter, you half understand anyway. "This isn't just my favorite opera, it's my child," she says of *Katerina*, laying her hand on her heart, "but when I first heard it on the piano, I thought it was nothing so special. You need the orchestra for Shostakovich."

The NIO is actually performing *Katerina Ismailova*, the composer's second and gentler version of the opera - the one he preferred. *Katerina Ismailova* premiered in Moscow in 1963. The original version had premiered in 1934, and

two years later Stalin saw it in Moscow. The next day, *Pravda* ran a piece that trashed the opera and the composer. Shostakovich was relegated to parish status.

Today, the Kirov mounts both versions, "and really, they're not that different except for the text," says the director. "The big difference is in the third scene where Shostakovich, as a young man, emphasized the lover's physical dominance over Katerina."

The opera is based on a story by Nikolai Leskov, and he fictionalized the true story of a woman who murdered her husband and her father-in-law for the sake of her lover. In the opera, the still childless Katerina (Irina Lusokotova/Larissa Schevchenko) is trapped in a loveless and abusive marriage to Ismailov (Boris Yefriev), a rich merchant. She falls in love with the new foreman, Sergei (Yuri Marusin/Sergei Naida). When her lustful father-in-law (Bulat Minzhiliev/Vladimir Braun) threatens to tell her husband, she poisons him. Sergei actually kills Ismailov, but Katerina helps him conceal the body.

Caught, tried, and convicted, the couple are exiled to Siberia. In the march, Sergei shows his true colors and flirts with Sonia (Susanna Poretsky). Anguished, Katerina

shoves her into the icy river and then jumps in after her.

"Katerina is a good woman, repressed in brutal and evil surroundings," Molostova argues. "She behaves evilly because her natural instincts for good are ground down. Protest has to find an exit, and then it can turn violent."

"This piece is true not just for Russia. It's true everywhere that people are humiliated and stripped of their dignity."

Molostova was born and grew up in Moscow. She'd always wanted to be a director, and after her graduation from Moscow University, she was sent to Kiev where she directed plays and operettas with such success that the Kiev Opera invited her to direct for them. Since then she's directed some 100 operas as well as plays, films and TV.

She first met Shostakovich in 1963 when "we decided to do the opera in Kiev. I went to Moscow to meet him. He paid great attention to me, but as I was speaking, I felt he was composing something in his head all the time, so I spoke faster and faster so that he could go off and work."

There was a new production of *Katerina Ismailova* in 1975, "and he only came once to rehearsals. He was already ill then, but in 1975, he was already fully rehabilitated. The whole politburo came to the premiere."

Pearl's golden oldies

CLASSIC DISCS

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Rosa Ponselle, *'La Traviata'*, The Legendary Complete Recording, 1935 with excerpts from *'Norma'*. Pearl (GEMM CD 9317).

The Caruso Edition, Volume IV, 1916-1921 Pearl (RVC IV).

THE Pearl catalog's numerous recordings from the distant past feature a wealth of musical delights.

Rosa Ponselle is one of the greatest sopranos of all time and this *Traviata* shows exactly why. Recorded in 1935 at a live performance, conducted with aplomb by Ettore Panizza, it features Lawrence Tibbett as a spellbinding Germont, and Frederick Jagel as a light-headed Alfredo. Ponselle's is one of the most mesmerizing *Traviatas*.

Compared to later versions one could comment on the level of the orchestral playing and the conductor, who leaves a lot to be desired. But this performance is marked by its intensity, and Ponselle's portrayal of the tragic heroine.

Ponselle becomes Violetta even when we do not see her. Her voice is enough to carry us into Violetta's own world.

And in the crucial dramatic moments she is simply spellbinding. We sense her initial joy of

falling in love in earnest, we believe her despair when she meets Germont, and we respond with tears to her sacrifice when she leaves the man she loves.

But Ponselle is at her very best in the third and final act. "E tardi," she sings, it is too late, and we sense her total despair.

This *Traviata* is by far superior to many of its modern recordings. And as a bonus, we get Ponselle singing two numbers from *Norma* recorded in 1928: the *Casto Diva* Aria and the *Mira'o Norma* duet with Marion Telva which is just stunning.

CARUSO IS one of the finest tenors of all time. And some of his later recordings are available on disc.

The Pearl Caruso Edition follows his artistry in a very comprehensive way and allows us to see how he developed through the years.

This fourth volume features three discs with close to three-and-a-half hours of music and 56 pieces ranging from arias to popular songs. These recordings were made between 1916 and 1921 and, as usual, the sound quality is far from ideal. But the main thing is that voice, which carries without any problem.

SEE IT IN HEBREW HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!

A FAMILY STORY
December 31, 1996 at 8:30 p.m.

While reading her grandmother's diaries, Naomi stumbles on a dark family secret that changes her life forever. This story traces the life of the Stein family, from Heigalberg, Germany, in 1935, to Israel in the early 70's, while in the background, historical events unfold and secrets are revealed.

THE TEMPEST
January 11, 1997 at 4:30 and 9:00 p.m.
January 12, 1997 at 4:00 p.m. and 8:30 p.m.

The Cameri Theatre proudly presents the British theater company, Shared Experience, with their production of the Shakespeare classic, *The Tempest*. The play will be performed in English, with a simultaneous translation into Hebrew. Theatre doesn't come much more exciting than this.

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Binyanei Ha'ooma, JICC, Wed. January 8 at 8:00 p.m.

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A strike too far

AFTER Histadrut trade union department head Shlomo Shani failed to appear in court on Friday for a hearing on the Histadrut's violation of court restraining orders, the Tel Aviv Labor Court ordered him arrested for contempt of court.

Over the weekend, the union leader "went underground" to avoid arrest. In the meantime, the Histadrut's "action committee" issued strike orders for workers in other major economic sectors. Upon Shani's arrest yesterday, Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz ordered a wildcat strike, while condemning the government's "terrorist actions" against workers.

The disturbing rhetoric of "underground," "action committee," and "terrorism" indicates that the Histadrut, rather than staying within the bounds of legality, negotiations, and the political process, has reserved for itself the right to flout the rule of law and take the whole country hostage to fulfill its demands.

If anyone is engaging in "terrorism" here, it is the Histadrut. Even if the labor court went too far in ordering Shani's arrest, the use of a strike to reverse a court decision is an unvarnished intimidation tactic that severely threatens the rule of law. If terrorism is the victimizing of innocent people to achieve political ends, then the Histadrut is engaging in economic terrorism, pure and simple.

In the case in point, the labor court, in its original decision, did not decide to prohibit the strike, but to limit it to a few hours to reduce the damage to the economy and to the innocent citizens who bear the brunt of any such strike. The Histadrut chose first to ignore the restraining order, and then to ignore the summons to a hearing on its actions.

In any democracy, the right to strike is a fundamental civil right, and must be treated with the utmost respect. Governments should be hesitant to take legal actions against industrial action, even if questionable, because the ultimate protection against unreasonable strikes is popular censure.

Democratic societies also have the right, however, to protect themselves against arbitrary or overreaching strikes by taking legal action.

It is unusual, if not unprecedented, for a labor court to issue an arrest order against a senior union leader in a labor dispute. It is also unusual for unions to ignore a court's restraining order. In yesterday's hearing, Peretz claimed the restraining order was not violated deliberately, the strike simply went out of control. But whatever the merits of the court's decision to issue a warrant for Shani's arrest, calling a strike in response is a blatant threat to the rule of law and cannot be tolerated.

Imagine what would happen if the police decided to surround a court building in response to a verdict that they did not like, or that death threats against Supreme Court justices by religious extremists were considered an acceptable form of protest. Courts are not perfect, but no element of society has the right to take the law into its own hands and attempt to override the court through intimidation tactics.

Finance Minister Dan Meridor was correct in stating: "It is inconceivable that workers will violate the law and get backing for this from the Histadrut leadership." He added that the Histadrut's "delegitimation of the labor court is an attack on the essence of democracy." In general, it is better that the state not abuse its power over the unions, and that unions not abuse their power over the state. Even between unions and management, out-and-out confrontation rarely produces results that are good for either side. The interests of workers, management, and government in a modern, global economy are more in common than in conflict, pointing to negotiated solutions, without legal or strike threats, as in everyone's long-term best interest.

Yesterday's strike, called against the court action, may succeed in deterring the courts against similar actions in the future. If so, it amounts to Histadrut 1, Rule of Law: 0. But in the end the Histadrut will be the big loser, because popular support for privatization will surely rise.

The long list of government industries and companies that were paralyzed by yesterday's action reads like the proper hit list for the government's privatization efforts. The Histadrut may be inadvertently making the government's case for massive economic reform. Most Israelis, given the choice, would probably prefer not to have their lives and livelihoods hostage to a labor federation prone to flex its muscles arbitrarily at its expense.

Rather than adapting to the times, the Histadrut seems to be attempting to yell stop in front of the train of progress. By fighting change in a knee-jerk way, the Histadrut reduces its clout in the legitimate battles to cushion the impact of change that lie ahead. Today's Histadrut exhibits no sense that the Israeli economy must evolve, become freer, more flexible, and more efficient to compete in the global economy. Rather than demonstrating its power, the Histadrut's strike action looks more like Chicken Little's plaintive cry that the sky is falling, a claim that the people of Israel will increasingly reject.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

QUESTIONS ABOUT NEW TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Sir, - As coordinator of the English Department at the Safed Regional College, I see a tremendous change taking place in Israel's regional colleges. The Ministry of Education has enacted a major policy change over the past year or so and this change has and will greatly effect Israel's higher education system. In the past, university students expected to get all of their higher degrees from one of the major universities. This is no longer true. Because the major university campuses are overburdened with applicants, and because our society is demanding more and more employees at all job levels with college degrees, there is no longer sufficient room on the campus for BA students. As a result, the Ministry of Education

is successfully promoting a new trend - namely, that students get their BA degree at a local college and go on to the major university campuses only for their second (MA) and third (PhD) degrees. This policy shift affects students, teachers and the general public on the economic as well as the educational level. Is a degree from a regional college as meaningful as a degree from a major university? Are all of the regional colleges equal in the level of education they give? Are all teachers at the colleges equally qualified to teach? Do all of the colleges give their teachers an equal salary? With so many BA holders, what will occur in the job market?

Teachers in all colleges are concerned at present about their

conditions. Although teachers are required to have the same qualifications as those holding posts at major universities, the conditions/salaries for those teaching in regional colleges are not the same. What will this mean to students, etc.?

Another major concern is the fact that students who are willing to pay more and work less for their degrees (on all levels including PhD) can get them by mail for a large sum. How does this affect our society? What does this say about the value of a university degree?

RACHEL BEN-ZEV, English Coordinator, Safed Regional College

Safed.

REAL WINNER

Sir, - I thank the Almighty every day that Mr. Netanyahu is our prime minister and not Shimon Peres. Since the new government took office, the differences between these two men is more apparent than ever. Peres was prime minister when the Hamas murderer "the engineer" was slain and war against Hizbullah in Lebanon took place. During those difficult times, the opposition, led by Bibi Netanyahu, backed Peres all the

way, as any responsible opposition should. He gave full support to Peres to do whatever had to be done. Israel cannot afford to do whatever the uncaring world wishes us to do.

On the other hand, in the last six months Peres has irresponsibly criticized the new government, as if they were the idiots responsible for giving the Palestinians the arms used to murder our soldiers. We have to stop having this terrible inferiority complex. The

world does what is in its selfish interest to do. We have to look after our interests and stop being the devil's advocate.

Bibi, be strong. You are a real winner. Shimon, my advice to you is to retire quietly. I am happy you have never won an election. This country and nation need a winner to lead us to ever bigger things.

BRIAN LEVIN

Eilat.

POLITICS ON BAR-ILAN CAMPUS

Sir, - Bar-Ilan University's academic centers in Democracy and Civility, Education for Peace and Tolerance, and Religion and Politics, or major research activities in science and the humani-

ties wing students protest," December 20). Bar-Ilan does not suppress political views on campus. Rather, it disciplines unruly students who affix their political stickers on faculty university tele-

phone booths. The achievement of even this modest goal will require three proactive steps by the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority. The first is a genuine cooperative effort to combat and contain

DAVID M. WEINBERG,

Best track

MICHAEL B. OREN

EVEN with the signing of the Palestinian-Israeli agreement on Hebron nearly secured - a major breakthrough, inaugurating the decisive stage of the Oslo process - it's still open season on Benjamin Netanyahu. As might be expected, the prime minister is being lambasted by the Left for allegedly wasting time and human lives in reaching an accord virtually identical to that

Under the threat of renewed terror by the Palestinians he has had to haggle with Arafat over the final minutiae of the Hebron agreement, at the same time resisting pressure to expand settlements, thus providing a pretext for that terror. The course before Netanyahu winds precariously between White House receptions and the shells of bombed-out buses.

Despite widespread claims that he has no policy, Netanyahu's direction is clear

already negotiated by the previous Labor government.

But he is also coming under increasingly vituperative attacks from the Right, for backtracking on his campaign rhetoric in favor of unbridled settlement building, and against the creation of a Palestinian state.

Disturbed by the Arabs, despised by the Israeli and foreign press, it seems Netanyahu has no natural allies. Yet his very isolation is the foremost sign that he is on the right track - the best track for everyone, Jews as well as Arabs.

While it's true that Netanyahu's first months in office have been marred by a preponderance of gaffes and misjudgments (as if Rabin's weren't - remember the Hamas deportation?) the record of these errors should not obscure the prime minister's success in maneuvering with next to no latitude.

Netanyahu has had to navigate between the Scylla of Greater Israel and the Charybdis of an unrestricted Palestinian state in all of the territories - between a return to the 1967 borders and perpetual occupation.

That Netanyahu's efforts have been relentlessly condemned by elements on both political extremes comes as no surprise. What is curious, however, is the depth of criticism heaped on him from moderate, middle-of-the-road Israelis, the much-touted center.

This is the center that demands a solution to the Palestinian problem, as promised by Labor, together with the security pledged by the Likud. It's the center that doesn't want 150,000 settlers to lose their homes, but doesn't want their sons patrolling Palestinian cities, either; it's the center that insists Jerusalem remain Israel's united capital, yet, within that context, is willing to sanction a Palestinian capital as well.

It is this center which, going on recent polls, is most dissatisfied with Netanyahu, among which his popularity has plummeted.

But it is precisely the center that Netanyahu serves.

Elected to pursue the Oslo process but from a position of tougher bargaining, Netanyahu has done just that. That Arafat chose to respond to Israel's electoral decision with terror - if it hadn't been the opening of the Hasmonean tunnel, he would have found some other excuse - should not detract from that fact.

For all the complaints leveled against him, Netanyahu has advanced the process, albeit at a more cautious pace, while keeping our streets relatively free of terror,

Dry Bones



Israelis have sought all along, and still seek, in spite of their avowed disappointment with their leader. The answer for those in the center, Jews and Arabs, is to give Netanyahu a chance - a real chance, free of the hysteria that characterizes his many detractors. Cut him some slack, in the realization of the massive restrictions under which he must operate, and in the hope that, learning from his mistakes, he may yet guide us to the ports of peace and security. The writer teaches Middle Eastern history and is the author of 'The Origins of the Second Arab-Israeli War, soon to be a major motion picture.'

The real enemies of peace...

AARON LERNER

THE time has come for Israel to insist on compliance - not only for its own security needs, but to bring Palestinian expectations back down to earth.

Unpleasant for the Palestinians? Of course it will be. Arafat will have to disarm not only Hamas but his own many and various illegal militias too. He will have to fire some terrorists from the security forces, and even hand some over to Israel. He will have to pull out his troops from Jerusalem, and stop terrorizing Arabs who helped Israel in the past.

And in compliance with the Oslo accords he will have to restrain his electronic media, putting a halt to the constant incitement to violence that is the hallmark of Palestinian TV and radio broadcasts. This and much more.

Arafat will find none of these things easy. But they will drive home a clear message to the Palestinian people: that they are going to have to lower their expectations. And the sooner that happens the better the chances that the Oslo experiment won't end in a bloodbath.

Because no matter how many red lines Netanyahu et al are willing to cross - even if they jump to the left of Shimon Peres - they will still be light years away from what the Palestinians ultimately think Arafat will get them: a *judenrein*, well-armed Palestinian state covering the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip - including all of East Jerusalem. And all this as a springboard for the ultimate march toward the sea (not to mention implementation of the right of return to Haifa and Jaffa).

But, claim the Israeli opponents

of compliance demands, Arafat cannot possibly honor the agreement and retain power...

If Arafat cannot honor the agreement today, with many tens of thousands of armed troops (and, as Yitzhak Rabin put it, "no Supreme Court and no B'Tselem" to his hands) is there any reason to expect that he will be able to survive if he accepts even the

term is deceptive, since the world interprets it as meaning that, at any given time, Israel and the Palestinian Authority start with a clean slate - in other words, Israel cannot expect or demand anything from Arafat without doing something itself.

This choice of term has sucked Israel into a symmetry Oslo absolutely does not have.

... are those who oppose Palestinian compliance with the Oslo accords

most liberal of Israeli compromises as a final agreement?

And if, to survive, Arafat "sells" the final agreement with Israel as only one more step in the nefarious program to destroy Israel by stages, then the entire exercise will have been meaningless for the Jewish state.

Some leftist extremists argue that at least, in such a situation, they would be able to face the battle for survival with the moral satisfaction of knowing that Israel had exhausted all the alternatives to war.

But such "moral satisfaction" comes at too high a price. The mystical, irrational belief in the IDF's ability to win any war under any conditions flies in the face of that cornerstone of Judaism which enjoins us not to "rely on miracles."

SINCE his election Prime Minister Netanyahu has frequently said that Israel demands "reciprocity" from the Palestinians. But the

As a nation in this "experiment," Israel is the sole risk-taker. Israel agreed to allow tens of thousands of enemy armed soldiers into the very heart of its territory.

If Arafat fails, he risks, at most, personal danger for himself and his colleagues. They might end up killed as traitors - or, alternatively, as terrorists - but in no way do they risk the survival of the Palestinian people. Israel, ultimately, does risk its own survival.

That old slogan "for Israel every test is a final exam" carries the ring of truth. It is because of this serious risk imbalance that Oslo lacks symmetry on a number of security related issues.

Israel has the legal right to insist on the transfer of terrorists, while the PA can't even ask Israel pickpocket.

Israel was supposed to be able to veto recruits in the PA's various security services, and there were

supposed to be strict limits on the weapons they carried, while the PA has no say as to the size, composition or arming of Israeli forces.

The agreement allows for IDF forces and just plain Israelis to travel freely on the roads throughout the autonomy, while allowing Israel to block access to Palestinians.

The ramifications of Palestinian violations of the agreement are also very different from those of Israel's so-called violations.

Israel's delayed release of female Palestinian terrorists from Israeli prisons may certainly upset the Palestinians, but it has no conceivable impact on Palestinian security. In sharp contrast, the refusal of the PA to hand over terrorist murderers goes to the very heart of Israel's security.

The failure of the two sides to reach agreement on the opening of the so-called "safe passages" is certainly an inconvenience for the Palestinians, but there is no comparison between this inconvenience and the security implications of the illegally armed militias now sitting in the autonomy.

For Israel's sake and for the sake of the entire peace process the insistence on Palestinian compliance must ring out loud and clear. Such insistence is not a delaying tactic, on the contrary: It is the only way to insure true peace.

Those who oppose compliance are not friends of peace, but its most dangerous foes.

The writer is an associate of IMRA (Independent Media Review & Analysis).

The only way to avoid disaster

EPHRAIM SNEH

THE redeployment in Hebron is a milestone in the implementation of Oslo 2. But - what next?

With a new Israeli government bound by ideology and politics to oppose the extension and enhancement of Palestinian sovereignty in the West Bank, the prospects for advancing the peace process significantly during the next four years appear bleak.

But if we cannot move ahead we can at least maintain the process, avoiding a new explosion of Palestinian frustration and fury that could quickly erode the gains.

The achievement of even this modest goal will require three proactive steps by the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority. The first is a genuine cooperative effort to combat and contain

measures, and the trust that is still so fragile would quickly seep away.

The second step is the economic development of the Palestinian territories, raising the standard of living for residents there.

If the Palestinians cannot count

The final step if the peace process is to be maintained is the reversal of the government's commitment to expand Israeli settlements on the West Bank.

Under the government's plan the number of Israeli settlers on the West Bank will double by the year

Curb terror. Boost the Palestinian economy. Halt the expansion of settlements

on any benchmark in their political status during the next four years, they should at least be assured of a marked improvement in their economic position to give them a continued stake in the process.

Improving the Palestinian economy means new investments and

2000, sending a clear negative signal to the Palestinians about the prospect of statehood there.

While the future of the West Bank is to be the subject of further negotiations under the Oslo accords, those talks will become meaningless in Palestinian eyes if

of the peace process.

CURB terror. Improve the Palestinian economy. Halt the expansion of West Bank settlements.

These are the three steps that must be adopted to facilitate new discussions of the implementation of the entire Oslo 2 agreement, the additional redeployment of Israeli troops and the beginning of a dialogue regarding permanent arrangements.

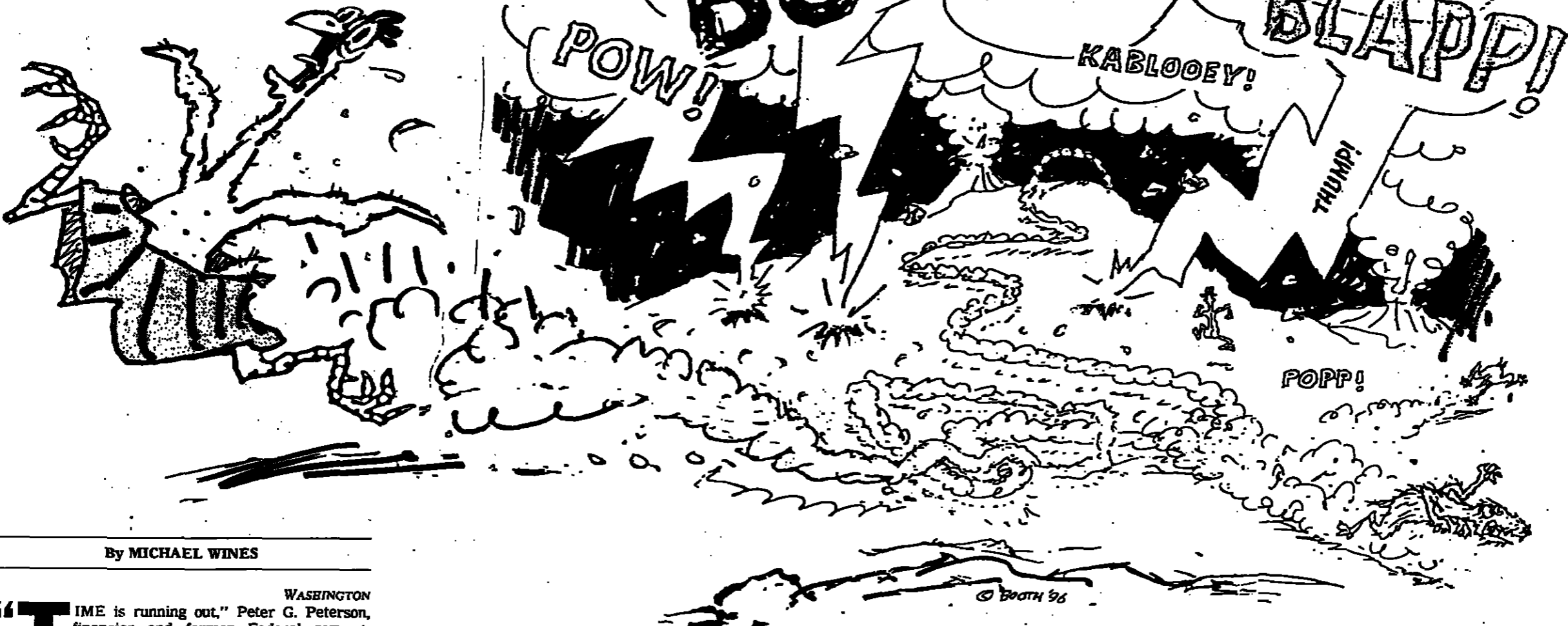
The benefits are clear. Israelis would enjoy greater security without suicide bombs and other terrorist acts. Palestinians could build the economic foundations so essential to a sovereign state.

And the options regarding final agreement between Israel and the Palestinians will remain open.

Even if we cannot expect remarkable progress toward peace

The Sky Is Falling

Three Cheers For Chicken Little



By MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON

TIME is running out," Peter G. Peterson, financier and former Federal servant, warns in his latest book, "Will America Grow Up Before It Grows Old?" Mr. Peterson is writing about the imminent bankruptcy of Medicare. No matter. It easily could have been global warming, overpopulation, declining sperm counts, drug-resistant germs, designer genes, nuclear terrorism, AIDS, the national debt, Apple Computer, Democrats, Republicans, the two-party system, wetlands, desertification, moral decline, moral zealots, killer asteroids or, for that matter, software that does not recognize the year 2000.

Happy New Year? Right. Enjoy your delusion of a fresh start: the world is going to hell in a handbasket. Or so it seems. There was a time — the '50's — when America was hopelessly upbeat, a place where men touted atomic bombs as friendly, if noisy, tunnel-diggers and Interstate highways as adventures in manifest destiny. Nineties America, on the precipice of a new millennium, paces anxiously and prays it doesn't trip and fall into the abyss. Alarmism is a national obsession. It

is also big-time entertainment, rife with pop Cassandras hawking digitally enhanced jeremiads, egged on by a news business with a bottomless appetite for thrills.

From the land of glee to the home of the grave — are Americans getting too much of a bad thing?

Of course they are. In their endless pursuit of a risk-free Utopia, Americans have developed a Texas-sized neurosis about mortal threats that never quite seem to match their advance billing.

But that begs the real question: why doesn't the sky fall? And that question is a tougher one.

Sure, plenty of alarms are raised over threats that are, to put it kindly, overstated. Some are undiluted hype; some may reflect the fact that Americans' threshold for a good scare has fallen as their lives have become more insulated from harm. Upton Sinclair struck terror in the hearts of carnivores 90 years ago by exposing horrendous meatpacking conditions in "The

Maybe a bit of windbagery can work better than wisdom to promote the public good.

Jungle." Today Scare City is bad hamburger at a Jack-in-the-Box, surely tragic and just as surely infrequent.

But just as often, maybe, the sky doesn't fall because alarms work as the alarmists intended. Maybe the apocalypse never fully arrives because the alarmists' wretched excess frightens people into taking action. Maybe — go ahead, choke on the words — maybe the world will avoid fatal blunt asteroid trauma in 2050

because Dan Quayle urged the electorate in 1992 to watch for falling meteors.

Maybe! There's no way to know for sure. The only evidence that an alarm works is in its being proved false — which may also be evidence that the alarm was unnecessary to begin with. And from this it's hard to avoid the unsettling conclusion that a bit of windbagery can work better than wisdom to insure the public good, at least sometimes. It's a shrill world, after all, and alarmism may be both a cause and a result of it.

Recent history is filled with examples of Chicken Littles — hype artists and otherwise — who have clearly had an impact on their cause. The chairman of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, is an alarmist, and a good one. Mr. Greenspan is a fire bell against raging inflation. His latest tack was to imply (mostly by lifting

George Booth

Continued on page 4

Backsliding

Taxes were getting fairer. For a while.



By Diana B. Henriques

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'Profoundly Conservative'

France's migration to the right.

By Roger Cohen

3

Peace Dividend

Fixing blame for Israel's economic woes.



By Serge Schmemmann

3

Taking Hostages in Peru

Revolution as a Relic Come to Life

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

PERU has a knack for defying political waves that splash over the rest of Latin America. When right-wing military dictatorships ruled its neighbors in the 1970's, a leftist Peruvian dictator confiscated the oligarchy's sugar plantations. When other guerrillas looked to Fidel Castro in the 1980's, Peru's Shining Path embraced Mao. And as the sweet promises of democracy swept the region in the early 1990's, President Alberto K. Fujimori dissolved Congress.

So perhaps it should come as no surprise that Peruvian Marxist rebels would make their boldest attack in years after most other Latin American guerrilla

A hostage's diary. Word for Word, Page 7

wars had long since ground to a halt. There was almost something quaint, even evocative, about 20 Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement rebels armed with assault rifles and dynamite acting out an old script by taking hundreds of dignitaries hostage at a Japanese diplomatic cocktail party in an effort to free hundreds of their imprisoned comrades.

The action conjured images of so many revolutionary crusades of days gone by, as when the Sandinistas took the Nicaraguan Congress hostage in 1978, an act so audacious it sparked an insurrection that brought down Anastasio Somoza Debayle a year later.

"It is an almost exact duplication of what we did," Antonio Navarro Wolff, who led Colombia's M-19 guerrillas, told the Peruvian magazine *Si*, recalling the taking of 30 hostages in the Dominican Republic's embassy in Bogotá for two months in 1980. It was no surprise that Mr. Navarro advised the Peruvian rebels



Peruvian television last February showed the guerrilla leader Néstor Cerpa Cartolini describing a thwarted attack plan.

to release their hostages as a "humanitarian gesture," since he dropped his rifle long ago and helped draft Colombia's 1991 Constitution.

"This is sort of an outdated, unexpectedly recurrent activity," said Jorge G. Castañeda, a Mexican economist and student of the Latin American left. "These groups and forms of struggle have been obsolete for a long time." Nevertheless,

he noted that as long as the Peruvian Government keeps political prisoners in the most squalid conditions, their comrades will feel compelled to take dramatic action in an effort to free them.

The novelty of the Peruvian rebel attack was underscored by its timing. It was staged as the Guatemalan guerrillas and Government reached another in a series of peace accords that promise an

end to a four-decade-old rebellion.

The Guatemalans are following close behind El Salvador's rebels, who after negotiating a peace have traded their battle fatigues for power ties they now wear in their nation's Congress. Likewise, revolutionaries from Chile to Venezuela to Nicaragua to the Dominican

Continued on page 3

The Nation

10 Years After Tax Overhaul, the Loopholes Expand

By DIANA B. HENRIQUES

TEN years ago this week, the United States put into effect what political leaders hailed as a fairer tax system, wiping out shelters that many wealthy Americans used to prevent much of their income from being taxed. At the same time, maximum tax rates were lowered.

For years, many affluent citizens who had used shelters paid far lower taxes than others who earned the same income. Oil-drilling ventures and real estate partnerships, among other activities, had flourished for no

reason other than the circumvention of taxes. After Congress passed a sweeping overhaul of the tax code in 1986, these loopholes largely disappeared and the richest Americans were forced to pay more.

Now the tax engine is shifting into reverse. Top tax rates have crept up again, though they are still lower than they were before the 1986 tax overhaul. And the shrewdest among the wealthy, in collaboration with eager expert advisers, are finding ingenious new shelters to keep the tax collector at bay in three big areas — their salaries and bonuses, investment profits and estates.

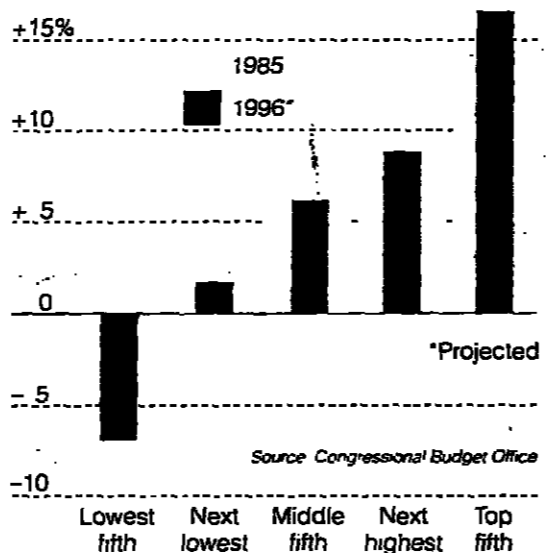
These techniques are not available to most Americans. And they are spreading largely without attention from policy makers in Washington, even though they are costing the Treasury money. Exactly how much money, no one knows. But the amount is expected to grow significantly because the full impact of these techniques will be felt in years to come.

The appearance of the latest tax shelters raises old questions of fairness. They are chipping away, tax experts say, at a longstanding principle that the American tax system should be progressive — that the well-to-do should pay the biggest share of their income.

Some of these techniques replace gimmicks that Congress stripped from the tax code 10 years ago. For example, Congress cut the annual limit on tax-deferred investments in Individual Retirement Accounts and the employee savings accounts called 401(k) plans to \$9,500 from \$30,000. But now, new deferred pay plans help

Spreading the Load

The 1986 tax overhaul and subsequent rate increases have made the system more progressive. Here are effective Federal income tax rates for families, as a percentage of annual income, after all deductions, exclusions and other adjustments. Because of the earned income tax credit, many families in the group with the lowest income received more from the Federal Government than they paid.



ings that the tax system is inequitable. "The more these products multiply," said Richard McGahey, former executive director of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, "it feeds the perception that the system is unfair."

Raising the Top

The reforms of 1986 and subsequent increases in maximum tax rates in 1991 and 1993 helped make the Federal income tax system more progressive, as measured by effective tax rates, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Some analysts fear that avoidance maneuvers will erode those gains.

"Much of these tax issues are going to come down to fairness, one way or the other," said David Hackett Fischer, the author of "The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythms of History" and a historian at Brandeis University. "We have to think of what kind of nation we want to be."

One concern is that higher-income taxpayers are already reaping a growing share of the nation's economic wealth. Research by the economist Edward N. Wolff of New York University shows that from 1983 through 1992, the richest 20 percent of the population saw its share of the nation's wealth grow to 83.7 percent from 81.3 percent.

The Clinton Administration's response to the latest twists in tax avoidance has been to propose closing some loopholes, chiefly those that Wall Street is peddling to avoid capital gains taxes. Congress has responded to that idea with a chilly indifference, and the most energetic advocacy has been on the side of cutting taxes, flattening tax rates and clipping the powers of the Internal Revenue Service.

The I.R.S. response has mostly been a tower of ad hoc "private letter" rulings, brief decisions that permit one specific tax-avoidance technique. These rulings, although tailored to the facts of one case, often become a key ingredient of the next popular tax-avoidance device to emerge. Even when the agency fights back in court, its track record is poor, lawyers say, as its workload has outstripped its budget and its litigation staff.

Positions on what should be done to change the tax system diverge in large part on differences in definitions of fairness. According to numerous surveys, most Americans think that the fairest tax system is one in which the rich pay a larger share of their income in taxes than the less-rich do. But many say fairness is achieved when everyone with the same income pays the same tax. And others say fairness prevails when all taxpayers pay the same percentage of their income to the tax collector, whether that would leave them with millions or thousands.

Jack Kemp, the former vice presidential candidate, and Steve Forbes, the publishing executive turned Presidential candidate, campaigned for the single tax rate, calling it a flat tax. This presumably simpler approach, according to its proponents, would promote growth and

lead to less wasteful spending on tax accountants and lawyers.

End-runs around the tax code, some economists and business executives contend, are the inevitable result of a system that, in their eyes, still penalizes savings and investment while rewarding spending and borrowing.

"You ought to encourage people to get wealthy," said Theodore Forstmann, a Wall Street investment banker who served on a national panel set up last year to advise Republican leaders on tax reform. "You don't want to penalize people for that."

Yet tax lawyers say privately that most of the proposed alternatives to the current system would be equally vulnerable to tax avoidance. The reason is that wealthy people can make adjustments in how they receive and use their money to take maximum advantage of the smallest loophole.

For example, eliminating or greatly reducing the capital gains tax would simply increase the demand for financial techniques that could replace ordinary income with capital gains. Instead of a higher salary, a company might give top executives a low-cost personal stake in a subsidiary that stands to become more valuable; the initial value of the stake would count as taxable income,

but the increased value might well accrue to the executives as tax-free capital gains.

A pure flat tax, one that applies the same tax rate to any level of income and to income from any source, would be least prone to gimmickry, economists say. But a flat tax's vulnerability to circumvention grows once income generated by investments is exempted, as proposed by Mr. Forbes, whose investments generate most of his income.

In the debate over how the nation should tax itself, the ability of the wealthy to engineer a way around their tax burden will need to be considered, said Herbert Stein, who was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Richard M. Nixon.

"Financial engineering should be addressed," he said. "People are now saying that since the upper income can escape taxes, why not make it available to everyone? But that will make it very hard to finance the Government's activities."

Shrewd lawyers and investment bankers are finding ways to reinvent the shelters that Congress wiped out in 1986.

Not So Separate

Ebonics, Language of Richard Nixon

By KAREN DE WITT

WASHINGTON
IN local television studios and at dinner tables all across America last week, everyone had an opinion about the Oakland Board of Education's resolution requiring its teachers to appreciate and understand black English. But most Americans, black, white or other, don't have to learn to appreciate black English. They already use it.

Whether it is a separate language (linguists disagree on this), slang or just non-standard speech, the cadences, phrasing and structure of English as spoken by many black Americans has so worked its way into the mainstream as to become an invisible thread in the linguistic tapestry.

Uptight. Outta sight. Aaahh, right. Groovin' Jivin' Slippin' Stidin'. I'm baaaad. Dissin'. Wannabe. Crib. Shades. You, go girl. My man.

While the Oakland resolution is meant to recognize the separateness and difference of black English, its

Whether or not it's a unique language, black English has been appropriated by other Americans, including Presidents.

Integration into the national tongue can also be seen as a vindication of the melting-pot theory.

From Madison Avenue's appropriation of rap rhythms and words to sell breakfast cereal to Richard Nixon's use of "right on" — and, of course, to the players and fans at just about any sporting event — Americans of all varieties spice up their English with the argot of black America.

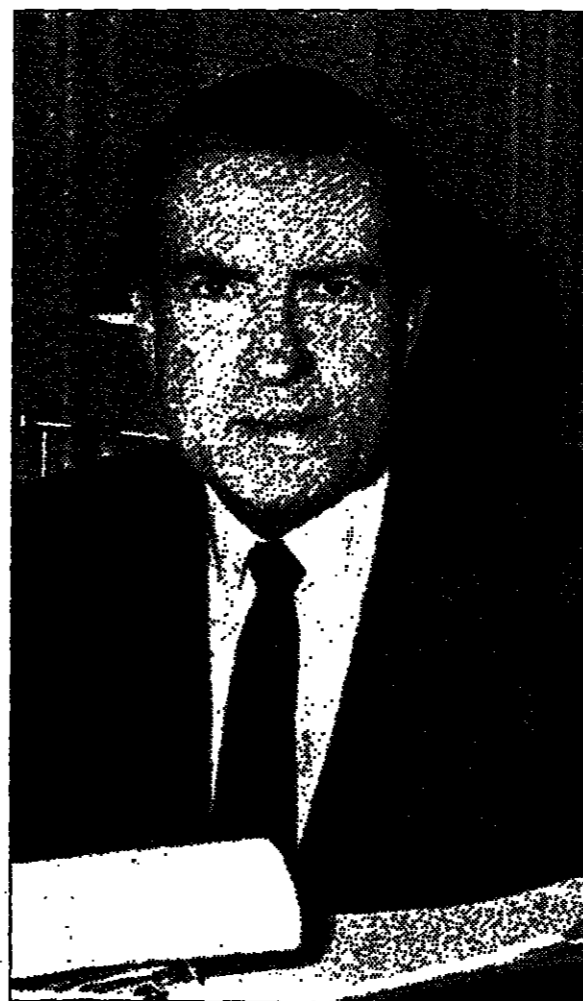
"It's esthetically appealing," said Albert Murray, the jazz critic and novelist. "Black English has appealed to people from the earliest days of America, from minstrels to jazz. Whether they laughed at it or imitated it, they used it and were changed by it."

Even that quintessential Americanism "O.K." turns out to be a direct descendant of the West African word "waky," according to Robert MacNeil in the 1986 PBS series "The Story of English."

For that matter, the whole of standard English is a gumbo rich in words of African ancestry, including gumbo itself; there is goober and banjo, voodoo and jubilee, jambalaya, bubba, lanky, cola, banana, chigger, mumbo jumbo, jazz, juke, mojo and zombie.



"You ain't nothin' but a hound dog"
— Elvis Presley



"Right on."
— Richard M. Nixon



"Yo!"
— Rocky Balboa

can of whatever ilk or color in every living room across the country has no more difficulty translating that than the "What's up, Doc?" of his cotton-tailed precursor, Bugs Bunny.

Then there are words of mixed, or uncertain, ancestry. "Yo" might have started out white and Philadelphiaian (call it the "Rocky" theory), but now it's a rapper's word. So is "bogart," the verb meaning roughly — to blacks, though not to '60s potheads — to tough one's way through a situation, the way Humphrey Bogart would.

The language of black America bubbles up from the

parents but using the same language as inner-city black kids.

Most particularly, it has found its way into the songs we sing and the way we sing them.

The late Johnny Mercer's "Blues in the Night" draws its structure ("My mamma done told me . . .") from the Gullah language of his Savannah childhood. Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, the consummate rock 'n' roll lyricists (and both white), credited the inspiration for their songs to the sounds of blackness that both fell in love with when they were teen-agers. Mr. Stoller went to an integrated summer camp: Mr. Leiber worked as a

song about a woman who is throwing out a faithless lover became an anthem of rebellion for 1950's youth, most of them white as Elvis.

"The vocabulary of rock 'n' roll comes directly out of the idiom of black speech," said Mahmoud El-Kati, professor of history at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn.

There is a darker side to the sociology of this appropriation, said Dr. El-Kati, that has to do with power elevated when it is wielded. "In a sense, black English is said 'But when its incorporated into the wider culture,' he

The World

مكتبة من الأدب

Lacking Barricades, France Is in a Funk

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS
THERE is a new idea afoot here, being pushed hard by French leaders: France — land of revolutions, the avant-garde, the upheavals of 1968 — has become a “profoundly conservative” country deeply resistant to change.

The theory, espoused by President Jacques Chirac, is supposed to explain why France is in a funk — unreceptive to reform, unconvinced by its leaders, unclear but its place in a changing world. In this cynical conservatism, if French leaders are to be believed, lies the reason that France more than any other European country, has found itself eschorted before the prospect of curbing the welfare state, creating a flexible labor market, adopting the new technologies of cyberspace and embracing a single European currency, all in order to come in a global economy.

On the face of it, the idea is and one. There were the events of 1789. More recently, in the postwar years, France transformed itself from an overwhelming rural economy to a highly modern industrial one, opened its borders, freed its financial markets, created the Airbus and the world's fastest train and become the fourth largest exporter behind the United States, Germany and Japan. It has, on balance, been anything but stuck in its ways.

Yet, of late, it is true that France has shown signs of digging in its heels. A single European currency, increasing stringent worldwide competition, a changing strategic equation in Europe — all these pose tough choices that touch on national identity and ultimately cannot be fudged.

The challenges the country faces are perhaps no more daunting than those of Germany or Italy or even Britain. Chancellor Helmut Kohl has given Gerry Connerly, an Italian, a positive role in dragging them northward toward modernity. In Britain, the Thatcher years produced changes that have already made the country more competitive and flexible. On France, the most centralized of European states and the most ambitious in its long dreams of somehow incarnating world power, does the whole range of challenges seem to provoke a kind of collective dread.

The response has been striking. Suggest reforming the state-owned railroad company, which lost \$3.3 billion last year and has debts of about \$40 billion, and the trains stop. Hint that social security, health insurance and other mandatory wage contributions are so high that they dissuade companies from hiring and contribute to France's crippling 12.1 percent unemployment, and there is an outcry. Try, in short, to tamper with what the French call their “acquis” — the established cocoon of a protective state — and the reform is stillborn.

It is certainly this mood that French leaders have sought to evoke in their charge that, as Prime Minister Alain Juppé put it, France has become a place of “deep-seated conservatism.” Mr. Chirac went even further: France, he said, is “sclerotic.”

The idea is intriguing not least because “conservatism” is here being used to identify people who, until recently, would have been identified as “progressives” or “of the left.” People, that is, who believed in a central role for the state in the economy, in the extension of social benefits, enveloping welfare and a strong public school system.

These have all been defining characteristics of the French republic. A pact developed between the technocrats who, after emerging from top schools, planned the future of France as highly respected “fonctionnaires,” and the labor unions that put those plans to work. This provided a bedrock for the country's development.

What Now?

At the heart of the unease now gripping France, there is the question of what new model, what new idea, to put in the old idea's place. In France even a partial dismantling of the state appears to threaten the core of the nation's values.

Moreover, in France the end of the cold war has proved most troubling, not principally because of the strategic implications but because it meant the end of a dialectic between two ideologies.

The French mind has great difficulty with what is now called “la pensée unique” — that is, the single American-rooted ideology holding that a largely untrammelled market economy is good for mankind. The French want somehow to represent an alternative model, one in which France's charity and its cheeses are preserved. This in turn produces



A musician leaves the Paris Garnier Opera, where 600 protested plans to make them work more before qualifying for state benefits.

a form of conservatism.

André Glucksmann, a philosopher, said: “France is indeed in a crisis, with respect to its own history and with respect to its place in the world. But it is not inherently conservative. It wants to know what image of itself to have.” Mr. Chirac and Mr. Juppé, he added, “are simply not providing answers to these questions.”

Mr. Chirac has recently suggested that a German model might work in France. He talks a lot about the need for “dialogue” and “responsibility” — clear references to the German way of managing the economy through negotiation between employers and labor unions. But Germany still bothers France. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall it has absorbed 16 million new people and developed a successful economic drive to its east that has turned much of central Europe into a German “near abroad.” France, in the same period, has stagnated.

Many French foreign policy decisions — including initial resistance to German unification and to Boris Yeltsin, and support for Slobodan Milosevic and for Rwanda's Hutus — have given an impression of disarray or cynicism that is hard to square with the

ambition, expressed by Mr. Chirac, of being “an example to the world.” Flailing to be such a presence, France has clashed repeatedly with the United States.

Inconsistencies also appear rampant in domestic affairs. In a single interview this month, Mr. Chirac suggested repeatedly that France's state should be slimmed and money better spent. But then he said the state railroad “will never be touched,” French public service “will not be called into question,” and the “acquis” will not be diluted.

Mixed Signals

As for European integration, the President and Prime Minister have recently made impassioned pleas for the introduction in 1999 of the common currency known as the Euro. At the same time, however, the Government has maintained the border controls it had vowed to abolish and has not made clear what sort of United States of Europe, if any, France has in mind.

Finally, Mr. Chirac and Mr. Juppé have held out as a goal the old French republican model of an inclusive society, marked by its humanism and its commitment to the equal-

ty of all before the law. But this appeal — rooted in the notion of the universality of French civilization — has come as France has turned inward, essentially scrapping the old law that established that anyone born in France was French.

“The message from the Government is confused,” said Dominique Moisi, the deputy director of the French Institute of International Relations, an independent think tank. “The French are not being told very clearly what Europe to expect, what type of economy, or what society. The result is that people try to defend a status quo that is indefensible.”

The new conservatism in France is real. It is the expression of a society unmoored, with respect to the world and its past. But this conservatism also owes much to Mr. Chirac and Mr. Juppé themselves, both products of the elite École Nationale d'Administration, the school that always produced the “fonctionnaires” who guided France. The President and the Prime Minister thump the table, throw up their hands, inveigh against conservatism and talk of reform. But their old-school instincts are deeply “conservative” — and it shows.

Israel's Question-Mark Economy

Peace Means Prosperity (Sort of)

By SEIGSCHMEMANN

JERUSALEM
NOBODY in Israel would dispute that the signing of the agreement with the Palestinians in 1993 did marvels for the Israeli economy. Annual growth rates soared to 7 percent, countries that the Arab boycott had frightened away began trading only in Israel, and Israeli businessmen began doing business in their own name, rather than behind some foreign front.

So when Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was elected last May after declaring the peace faulty and talking tough about the Palestinians, and when the political process ground to a halt for six months, it was natural to assume that the boom days must be over for the economy as well.

Criticizing Mr. Netanyahu over the economy was sometimes another way to criticize him for his policies toward Yasir Arafat. Then critics said his toughness was running down the economy, they were arguing that all his policies were false. His defenders retorted that the economy wasn't really doing so badly after all, and that its problems were of his doing.

All of which leaves open the question: Are peace and prosperity linked?

Yes and no, as the state of the Israeli economy shows. There are problems, to be sure. Tourism is down: there was plenty of elbow room Christmas week in Bethlehem's Manger Square, and Jerusalem hotels had rooms to spare. The Tel Aviv stock exchange has been in the doldrums for some time. And the Finance Ministry's modest goal for the coming year is a domestic product growth of 4 percent.

After Hebron, the Budget

But what the Israeli business community is really waiting to see is not so much whether Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Arafat resolve the tedious issue of Hebron — which they probably will this week — but whether Mr. Netanyahu succeeds (at least this week) in cajoling his disputatious Parliament into cutting \$2 billion from the \$56 billion budget.

This is one problem that is not of Mr. Netanyahu's doing. It was created by the same Labor Government that brought the peace: the administration lifted public-sector salaries to dizzy heights, miscalculated revenues and saddled its successors with a balance-of-payments deficit of more than \$25 billion this year. Mr. Netanyahu and Finance Minister Dan Meridor have been lobbying hard for that, but Israel's socialist traditions and narrow inter-group politics promise a tough battle.

As for the other problem, the tourist trade, which plans many months ahead, still reacting to the terror attacks and the Lebaneseursion of last winter and spring, before Mr. Netanyahu was elected. As for the stock exchange, it too was sagging before the election, and, in fact, has recently given hints of revival.

Where doubts about peace should have had an impact on the economy, says in foreign investments, there has been curiously little damage. On the contrary, stocks held by foreign investors on the Israeli exchange have nudged up from 1 percent before the May election to 11.3 percent now, and multinationals like Nestlé and Unilever have continued moving in.

“I'm a liberal and a liberal Labor voter, but in



Yasir Arafat and Benjamin Netanyahu met last week on the Israel-Gaza Strip border.

this regard, whoever tells you that complications from peace have resulted in capital flight is either deliberately misleading or ignorant,” said Amotz Asa-El, the business editor of The Jerusalem Post.

This does not, however, suggest that investment and business are impervious to peace. Nobody in Israel would make such a claim. True, peace is not as quantifiable as other major contributors to prosperity like the arrival of tens of thousands of skilled Russian immigrants or American loan guarantees, but this peace did much more — it declared that Israel was a normal country to do business with. Foreign businessmen no

longer had to look over their shoulders at the Arabs or calculate the risk of war, and Israel came to be perceived as a potential gateway to the region's huge emerging market. “The peace process signaled to the business community that the Arab-Israeli dispute is over, and it's time to move ahead with business,” said Benjamin Gaon, president of the Koor Industries conglomerate.

Conversely, nobody denies that prolonged disquiet could hurt. “Of course,” Mr. Meridor told an interviewer last week. “Peace is more attractive.” The biggest reason there has not been any visible damage so far, businessmen and analysts said, was that there has not been time or cause for that. Mr. Netanyahu pledged on coming to office to continue with the peace, to bring public spending under control, to deregulate and to privatize. And all these may still come about.

In fact, Mr. Netanyahu's evident eagerness to com-

Netanyahu gets more blame for economic problems than he deserves — so far.

clude a deal on Hebron has demonstrated to many that even this ideological conservative has been forced to realize in just six months that stalling the political process can be very dangerous. “The peace process is irreversible,” Mr. Gaon said. “There is no alternative.”

Another explanation for the relatively sanguine prospects for Israel's economy is that the businessmen looking at Israel are those exploring emerging markets, a sort not easily put off. However dramatic its conflicts and politics, Israel is still far more stable, lucrative and promising than many other such places. And high-technology industries, a dynamic sector of this economy, are probably less sensitive to political fluctuations, since they require less labor, capital and space.

“An investor does not look at Israel or the West Bank or Gaza through Mideast binoculars,” said Mr. Asa-El, the journalist. “He has a broad vantage point, from which he scrutinizes South America, Asia, Russia. Each place has its risks, or they wouldn't be emerging markets. This place may be politically unpredictable, but there are solid aspects to this market which are not affected by occasional political upheavals. And even when there is a terror attack in Tel Aviv, it is not like conventional war — it does not affect the labor force, or the workplace, especially the high-tech workplace.”

But while this may serve to explain the relative quiet up to now, it gives little guidance for the future. Peace is only one of many “ifs” hanging over the Israeli economy. There is the question of whether the Government will be able to slash its spending, and if it does, whether this will serve to devalue the shekel and get exports flowing again. Then there is the question of whether Mr. Netanyahu will live up to his promises to deregulate and privatize state-owned enterprises. “The number of unknowns may not be so large,” Ephraim Kleiman, an economist at Hebrew University, told The Jerusalem Report. “But they are very unknown.”

And that, in effect, is what many people would say about Mr. Netanyahu himself after six months in office.

Revolution As a Relic

Continued From Page 1

Republic now compete at the ballot box as vigorously as they once did at the barricades.

But like an affecting museum piece, the Túpac Amaru hostage-taking has highlighted not only how much has changed in Latin America, but also how much remains the same.

It was a reminder that even after years of defeats, the Túpac Amaru group and its more doctrinaire rival, Shining Path, have not fired their last shots.

And it was a reminder that the few Latin American guerrilla groups still active — here, in Colombia and in Mexico — come from lands where drug money is the new mother's milk of radical and mainstream politics alike.

It is highly unlikely that any of these rebel groups will ever take power, but as long as those in Peru and Colombia can levy “war taxes” on traffickers — and sometimes traffic themselves — they can survive without the international financial networks once provided by the Soviet bloc. (In Mexico's case, guerrilla ties to traffickers are not yet believed to be strong but the rebels, in two southern states, benefit from the army's need to focus on the war on drugs in the north.)

And Latin America is still poor, and deeply divided by class and race — the basic ingredients of revolution.

Where's Fidel Now?

Nevertheless, the “international correlation of forces,” as the Marxists would say, has changed dramatically. A decade ago, Mr. Castro would have been cheering the Peruvians on, and the United States would have felt a need to be a counterweight to him. But both have taken back seats — allowing Japan to suggest to Peru's Government that Havana might be enlisted to help end the crisis by offering the rebels safe passage.

More striking still are the words surfacing from the Kremlin, once the vanguard of world revolution. President Boris Yeltsin suggested that Russia and the leading industrial powers might send anti-terrorist squads to help the Peruvian Government.

As for the Peruvians, their behavior since the storming of the Japanese residence Dec. 17 also has broken old molds. University students and working-class people living in the shantytowns that ring Lima have not taken to the streets or even painted up their walls with militant graffiti, as the students and workers of Managua and Bogotá did in 1978 and 1980.

Ernesto (Che) Guevara would be turning in his grave if he could have heard the lively conversation Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, the Túpac Amaru leader, had with his captive businessmen last week. According to several people who have been released, Mr. Cerpa endorsed some of the Peruvian Government's plans to privatize industries and pay its huge international debts. It was an acknowledgement that the old romantic, utopian visions that Latin American revolutionaries once clung to have been consigned to the dustbin of history — although perhaps at a slower pace in Peru than elsewhere.

“The objective of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement is to negotiate,” said Gustavo Gorrii, a leading Peruvian journalist. “But they must first show force or otherwise no one would be willing to concede anything to them. I don't view the hostage taking as the beginning of a new wave of revolution, but perhaps the first movement toward an end.”

Ideas & Trends

Lies, Justice, the American Way

By JEFF STRYKER

Is it always wrong to lie? Few would argue for the whole truth and nothing but the truth in all circumstances.

To most people, the minor lies we sprinkle in our daily conversations are a confection, a social lubricant, not a poison. What a nice dress! What a swell haircut! And deceptive practices for noble ends flourish in virtually every profession and in government. Sociologists masquerade as homeless people to study altruism. Police officers assume false identities to infiltrate drug rings. Civil rights advocates pose as job applicants and apartment seekers, to document racial discrimination.

But where is the line? When does a social lubricant become a sea of mendacity?

Last week a Federal jury in North Carolina ruled that producers at ABC's "PrimeTime Live" committed fraud during a 1992 undercover report of unsanitary practices at the Food Lion supermarket chain. ABC's hidden cameras caught workers tampering with expiration dates on meat, bleaching spoiled chicken and selling cheese gnawed by rats. Food Lion, with more than 1,400 stores in the South, says it suffered losses of \$1.7 billion to 2.5 billion after the program.

The supermarket chain, rather than attack the story, challenged the reporting tactics. And the jury found that the ABC producers, in obtaining jobs with Food Lion, failed to disclose their employment with the network, lied about references and fabricated previous grocery store work experience. ("I really miss working in a grocery store, and I love meat wrapping," read one application, adding, "I would like to make a career with the company.") The jury returns tomorrow to decide damages.

This case concerns not just the practice of undercover journalism but the value of ly-

ing for a noble cause. After all, ABC has fairly revealed in its undercover reports because of their social value. Its cameras have caught Congressmen frolicking on junkets paid for by lobbyists, students selling guns, doctors misreading mammograms and car salesmen quoting higher prices to blacks than to whites. The defenders of deceit place the Food Lion case squarely in the tradition of muckraking journalism.

Trust Busters

Some journalists worry that the Food Lion verdict will have a chilling effect on investigative reporting, much the way that medical researchers might balk at having to stop using placebos in drug testing. But enthusiasm for deceit is far from universal. When journalists can pick and choose when to tell the truth, the public does not know when to believe them. So is socially motivated lying worth the erosion of public trust?

Many philosophical and religious traditions condemn all lies and deceit. Perhaps the best-known recent exposition of this sentiment is "Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life" (Vintage Books, 1989) by Sissela Bok, the philosopher. After exploring the many ways people deceive one another and themselves — from puffery in letters of recommendation to placebos to unmarked police cars — she decides lies are seldom worth the social cost. As lies spread, she writes, "Trust is damaged." She describes trust as a "social good to be protected just as much as the air we breathe or the water we drink."

Yet this year alone there were numerous cases of institutionally sanctioned deception. Local authorities instituted stings with names like Operation Protect Kids in which underage youngsters tried to buy cigarettes. In Operation Clean Hands, researchers hid in bathroom stalls or pretended to comb their

hair in restrooms in five American cities in order to check whether 6,333 men and women washed their hands after using the toilet. (The study, by Wirthlin Worldwide, found that many do not.)

Lying, for all its potential social value, is almost never called by its real name. Public officials rarely admit, "I lied," even if they believe in the cause they lied for. Instead, euphemisms bloom. The passive tense is used to distance the liar from the lie ("mistakes were made"). Broken promises are not lies but unfulfilled hopes. Even though Oliver L. North has been convicted of lying to Congress during the Iran-contra hearings, he prefers to say that Congress was misled. When Newt Gingrich, the House Speaker, was confronted last week with having lied to the House Ethics Committee about whether he used taxpayer money to set up a college course he taught, he said he had submitted "inaccurate, incomplete and unreliable" information.

When William Safire dubbed First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton a "congenital liar" in the first sentence of his Jan. 9 column in The New York Times, he followed with 13 variations of the verb "to lie" in the ensuing commentary; a firestorm ensued.

Truth and Consequences

One of the first laws of socially responsible deceit is to call it by another name — undercover reporting, a blind trial, a sting.

In a chapter on friendship and altruism in "The Varnished Truth" (University of Chicago, 1993), David Nyberg said Professor Bok's "atmosphere of trust" is in fact a "delicately balanced mixture of the essential gases of communication, namely, truth telling and deceiving." As he put it, "An atmosphere of pure truth telling is no more fit to support friendship than an atmosphere of pure oxygen is fit to support life."



Oliver L. North being sworn in before testifying the Iran-contra affair in 1986.

Three Chers For Chicken Little

Continued From Page 1

his eyebrows) that the stock market has been taken over by lunatics and ought to fall. Other alarmists have said the same thing to no effect, but investors watch Mr. Greenspan's brows the way Filipinos watch Mount Pinatubo. The market fell, if briefly.

Rachel Carson, the writer and biologist, single-handedly jump-started the environmental movement in 1962 with "Silent Spring." She indulged in her share of exaggeration, devoting one heart-rending chapter to the looming extinction by pesticide poisoning of the American robin, a bird that was not a dodo then and is not now. That said, not many would deny that she had a good point, or that her book changed the world.

Paul Ehrlich's 1968 jeremiad, "The Population Bomb," said flatly that humankind's race against famine was over and man had lost; that starvation would sweep the world in the 1970's as the number of hungry mouths outstripped the food supply. The book altered Americans' basic concept of progress and popularized the idea of sustainable growth. It also was wrong: the 1970's "green revolution" eased the hunger crisis, at least for the time being. Modern famines occur because of political problems, not agricultural ones.

Mr. Ehrlich says his error was scientific misjudgment, not hype, and still believes the day of reckoning has only been put off. He nevertheless agrees that "The Population Bomb" was a polemic, start to finish. "It would be intellectually satisfying to say the real impact is through reasoned discourse," he said. "But in my view the real impact isn't in reasoned discourse. Media attention, press coverage and, if necessary, alarmism at least set an agenda. And that way you can have a debate."

He is not exactly arguing that the end justifies the means. But as "The Population Bomb" shows, even the gravest alarm has a sort of credibility trip-wire. Forecast the apocalypse and at least one horseman had better show up quickly; long-term urgency is an oxymoron.

The environmental movement has suffered a credibility backlash as its exponents have sounded louder alarms about the overheated, under-shielded, deforested planet while ordinary Americans gazed out their Ford windshields and saw less smog each summer than the one before.

The environmentalists and the declining-America school of doomsayers have spawned their own counter-alarmist movements, squads of social and scientific bright-siders aiming to debunk the Gloomy Gusses. Some are flat-Earth types who deny the existence of obvious things like

global warming, or roll back environmental progress. Ben J. Wattenberg, the Amman Enterprise Institute scholar who may be the original counter-alarmist, says doomsayers in general well-intended exaggerators — he'll their tactics "lying for truth," but exaggerators nonetheless. In view, alarmists divert people's money from real problems by playing the specter of a sky that is about to fall, but never seems to actually start dropping.

"Gomorra, Gomorra, I love ya, Gomorra; you're always a day away," mimes. Publicly wise, Mr. Wattenberg is pbbly right. European scientists tried all the planet into a tailspin in spring by declaring that male fertility was plummeting, perhaps due to pollution, only to have America scientists conclude six months later that sales were plenty virile; it was the scientists' math that had lost its luster. Silicone breast implants tied the other half of a planet and spawned a multibillion-dollar health industry be-

Why doesn't the sky fall? Alarmism afterworks.

fore other scientists began to conclude that the great may have been artificial enhanced.

But the great at least two flaws in asking alarmists to be reasonable, soft-spoken folk. For one thing, a reasonable alarmist is not an alarmist anymore; he's the host of a Sunday news interview program, prattling about the other hand. "Will the Earth Remain Habitable?" asked Op-Ed article in The New York Times 10 years ago. Such a question does not deserve an answer like "me say yes; some say no; still ors don't know."

The second is that the alarmists could right. Dr. F. Sherwood Rowland is the butt of jokes in the 1980's when he began to suggest that sprays and leaky car air conditioners posed a threat because they're eating away the Earth's shield of atmospheric ozone. Last year won a Nobel Prize, and the world's production of chlorofluorocarbons has been cut so dramatically that the ozone layer is now expected to heal itself ahead of schedule.

Although Mr. Quayle has never recovered from his alerts about coming meteors and Murphy's Law, many now agree that some

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ECONOMY

To Shop, Perchance Nonstop

By DAVID J. MORROW

KEVIN was busier than one of Santa's elves this holiday season. Not only did he drop hundreds of dollars on presents, he also spent hours stashing them in out-of-the-way places.

Days before Christmas, two books, each wrapped in expensive paper, were nestled beneath his bed. A pricey jacket for his girlfriend was tucked among the socks and underwear in his chest of drawers. A closet full of fancy clothes concealed an expensive knife sharpener, snapped up weeks before in a sale.

Though hiding gifts before Christmas is common, Kevin keeps some hidden year-round. You see, his girlfriend has told him that if he does not stop buying things, she will leave him.

Kevin, who earns \$15,000 a year as an adviser in a mental health center in Iowa, says he just cannot stop buying things — from magazine subscriptions to household appliances. The knife sharpener, for example, still has no intended recipient and remains buried in the closet after the holiday. In two years, he has racked up \$16,000 in credit-card debt.

"I can go for a little more than a week without hitting the stores, but then I get tense for some reason," said Kevin, 38, who spoke on the condition that his full name not be used. "Christmas shopping — it's really hard to control myself, because I have an excuse to shop."

Easy as it is to exceed one's budget during the holidays, compulsive buyers like Kevin face that temptation with weakened defenses. Some leading psychologists estimate that five million Americans, or about 2 percent of the population, are compulsive buyers. But that estimate may be conservative. A recent study by the University of Minnesota found that 2 to 8 percent of the population suffers from the problem.

While compulsive buying can wreck one's finances any time of year, it is especially treacherous during the holidays. Compulsive spenders tend to be grand champion Christmas givers, showering their loved ones with expensive goods that would make even Donald Trump smile.

"Most compulsive spenders are people pleasers," said Janet Damon, a Manhattan psychoanalyst who specializes in compulsive disorders. "When a compulsive spender buys gifts, he's trying to buy love and power. This isn't really about money; it's about the feelings of anxiety they are trying to relieve through the spending."

Barbara, a 47-year-old management consultant in Los Angeles, concedes that she has a spending prob-

lem and says she recently succumbed to an urge to go Christmas shopping, spending 15 times more than she had planned. "When I buy these presents, I feel so powerful and so generous," she said. Like Kevin and others interviewed for this article, she spoke on the condition that she not be fully identified.

Once they recognize their problem, some compulsive shoppers seek help, either at the insistence of others or at the point of financial collapse. They may try private therapy or credit counseling — sometimes at the prodding of a bankruptcy court. Kevin and Barbara are two of many who have joined Debtors Anonymous, a 12-step self-help group that is modeled on Alcoholics Anonymous. The program encourages members to shed their credit cards and to adopt a strict spending plan that focuses on realistic needs.

Founded in 1976 in New York City, Debtors Anonymous now has more than 400 groups worldwide. Some chapters hold extra meetings to help their members cope during the winter holidays. And there is always information available from the group (212 642-8220).

Of course, giving in to an occasional splurge does not make a person a compulsive shopper. Who among us has not overspent sometime? Maybe it was a \$500 Armani suit at Saks Fifth Avenue that was just too good a deal to pass up, or, this holiday season, a Tickle Me Elmo doll that little Susie had her heart set on, even though the going price had escalated to \$300 on the Internet.

Nor is it just handling money poorly that distinguishes a compulsive spender. Plenty of people could benefit from instituting a budget and from some financial education. But compulsive spenders tend to exhibit serious emotional problems as well as financial problems, psychologists say.

People who can't handle money well have a skill deficit," said Dr. Jerrold Pollak, a psychologist with the psychiatry department at Rhode Island Hospital in Providence. "Compulsive spenders can't control the urge to buy, and they may also suffer from depression or anxiety with it."

Holiday buying sprees merely exacerbate problems for compulsive buyers. They spend heavily year-round, no matter what their budgets will bear and no matter what it does to their family finances. Some go on periodic buying binges and some shop every day. They most often pay on credit — compulsive spenders usually carry more than 10 charge cards, psychologists say, creating a debt load that can quickly swell into six figures.

Like many compulsions, the spending habit often starts at a young age. According to the study by

the University of Minnesota, the typical compulsive buyer started as a teen-ager but did not recognize the full magnitude of the problem until 10 years later.

Psychologists have long pointed to women as the chief sufferers. And recent studies — the one from Minnesota and one by the University of Iowa School of Medicine released in 1995 — have identified the typical compulsive buyer as a college-educated woman in her 30's.

But men, psychologists now say, may have been undercounted. They are less likely to admit to a compulsive spending problem — and to participate in a study about it. Generally, they also have higher salaries and more lines of credit, making it relatively easy to spend frivolously.

According to an annual survey of shopper attitudes by American Express, both men and women allotted an average of \$95 for each person on their gift list this holiday season. But men said their total spending would be \$1,024 on average, 21 percent more than the \$808 that women said they would spend.

They also buy differently. "The things that men buy tend to cost more than what women buy," Dr. Pollak said. "Men buy things like technology and appliances, expensive toys, if you will, while women buy clothes and makeup."

Another misperception is that overspending is confined to people of modest means who feel constrained by meager budgets. Barbara, the management consultant, is also an author and public speaker, and she earns \$100,000 a year.

Her latest lapse was on a trip to a small novelty shop to pick up a holiday present for a friend. She planned to cap her spending at \$30. One hour later, she walked out with two vests made from men's ties, a sculpture, three skirts, a pair of earrings and the \$30 picture frame — for a total of \$450.

At home, Barbara stuffed the booty in a closet just for gifts. She says she seldom remembers what she bought for whom, and try as she may to stick to a single-gift regimen, over the course of a year she may buy five gifts for the same person for the same occasion.

The shopping fever even extends to the grocery store. A month ago, Barbara noticed an advertisement saying that anyone who spent \$50 at her local store could get a free turkey. The supermarket might as well have challenged Wyatt Earp to a shootout.

"One of the perils for compulsive spenders over the holidays is the deals the stores run," Barbara said. "They are so tempting. I don't think I even went in there for a turkey. But, before you know it, I was consumed with having enough stuff in my buggy to get the free turkey."

"Ooh, how about some Bailey's? Yeah, a bottle of tequila, we'll need it over the holidays." I wound up spending \$140."

The bills for these sprees are mounting, and Barbara now owes \$60,000 on 10 credit cards, on top of her \$200,000 mortgage. She says she has been getting loans that average \$8,000 a year from her mother to help pay her bills — loans she wants to repay.

What about the interest rates on those credit cards? "I can't tell you what they are," said Barbara, who graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Southern California. "I always tell myself that I bank in the fog bank. I have a nine-year-old car, and I can't afford to buy a new one. I haven't even filed my 1995 taxes."

One trait shared by many compulsive shoppers — and particularly strong among men, psychologists say — is the desire to be a big shot. Buying expensive gifts and dinners is one way to look important.

For years, Matthew, a former Pittsburgh marketing executive who is now a struggling Hollywood actor, made sure to buy Christmas gifts that would make the recipients gasp. He would comb the malls, gold American Express card in hand, eager to snap up the right Hugo Boss suit or Chanel purse for his family and friends. With a \$130,000 salary, Matthew considered no gift beyond his reach.

"When it came to the holidays and birthday gifts, if I didn't make the significant women in my family cry after they opened it, I thought I had failed," said Matthew, 37. "Every year had to be better than the last. And the only way to do that was to spend more money."

If Matthew did not like a date's clothes — even on a first date — he would spring for a new ensemble. Group dinners with colleagues were carefully orchestrated, with Matthew instructing the waiter in advance to give him the check.

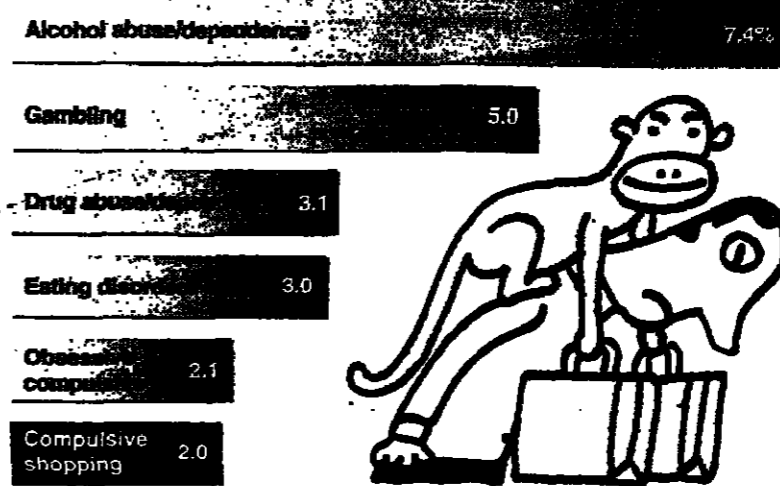
"When the restaurant's check came," he said, "my friends were sure to see me flip out my American Express card. I was trying to feel better about myself. It was one big ego gratification."

Matthew played the big spender until he hit bottom. His company filed for bankruptcy protection in 1992, leaving him out of work. He had traded up to a new Cadillac every two years, lived in an expensive house and racked up \$175,000 in debt. Adding to his misery, the Internal Revenue Service sent him a bill for \$40,000 in unpaid back taxes.

"I joined Debtors Anonymous and worked out a plan to pay all that money back," he said recently. "The biggest change was the Christmas giving. That next Christmas, when I

The Burdens We Carry

The percentage of the population estimated to suffer from some common disorders over the course of a year.



Figures are based on percentage of people over age 18, except the one for eating disorders, which includes people of all ages.

Sources: National Institute of Mental Health, National Association of Anorexia Nervosa and Associated Disorders, National Council on Compulsive Gambling

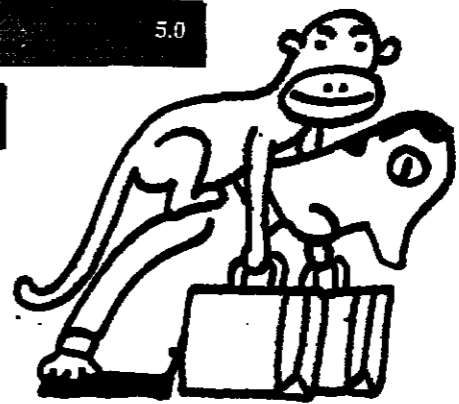


Illustration by Stuart Goldenberg

had no money, I baked oatmeal cookies with my nephews. It turned out everyone liked the cookies just as well as the expensive sweaters."

From gifts for family and friends to gifts for clients, the spending fire often spreads rapidly.

Al, a New York talent agent, describes how he once routinely gave his clients video-arcade machines, Rolex watches and pool tables at Christmas.

"Christmas had always been a double-edged sword," said Al, 46, who earns \$250,000 annually. "All through the year, I spend money on myself. Well, at the holidays, not only was I spending on myself, I was spending on other people. If I spent \$100 on you 10 years ago, this year your gift had to cost \$1,500."

Shopping at Saks for a simple \$25 sweater could make him feel so anxious that he would snap up a \$500 designer one instead.

"I would get such an exciting rush when I bought the expensive item," he said. "Buying things gave me an identity. I was the guy who bought Armani and wore Armani. All my identification about who I was came from the outside, the shoes I wore, the car I drove, the gifts I bought. I wanted people to like me."

The balloon burst in 1987. Al walked into his boss's office one morning and was told the I.R.S. was garnishing \$150 a week from his wages to recoup thousands of dollars in back taxes. Facing \$20,000 in credit-card debt, Al enrolled in Debtors Anonymous.

"Those first few years, I felt like I was no good," Al said. "Since I had lost my ability to spend money on people, especially at Christmas, then I was a bad person. Eventually, I learned to really shop and find deals."

Accounting Rules May be Irrelevant

By FLOYD NORRIS

ARE AMERICAN accounting standards developed at great cost and pain over many decades, about to be rendered irrelevant? Will they be replaced by a far less specific set of rules that give companies much more freedom to choose which accounting practices will make them look better?

Amazingly enough, some people think so. "We have an agreement," says Sir Bryan Carsberg, the secretary general of the International Accounting Standards Committee. After his committee completes its standards in 1998, he says, the Securities and Exchange Commission will allow foreign companies to sell securities in this country if their accounting conforms to the international rules, whether or not it meets the generally accepted accounting principles now required in the United States.

And if that happens, there is little doubt that American companies will think it unfair to force them to comply with more stringent rules.

The expectations began building this spring, when the S.E.C. and other securities regulators reached an agreement with Sir Bryan's group, saying that if the standards were good enough, they would be accepted.

The qualification was largely ignored until Arthur Levitt Jr., the S.E.C. chairman, told an accounting group this month that the international standards must be comprehensive and of high quality, and be rigorously interpreted and applied. Acceptance, he said, "is not a foregone conclusion."

There is, he added, "no doubt in my mind that their acceptability to U.S. investors will depend on how well those standards measure up to our own." And he said the Financial Accounting Standards Board would continue to set American rules,

which would apply to American companies. The demand for these standards to get in on the international standards would be rejected, he seemed to be saying.

In the past, the international standards were notable largely for the wide discretion they gave companies. In effect, they said that if one country allowed an accounting technique, it must be O.K. The international rules are being tightened, but in many areas they will still allow more discretion than do American standards.

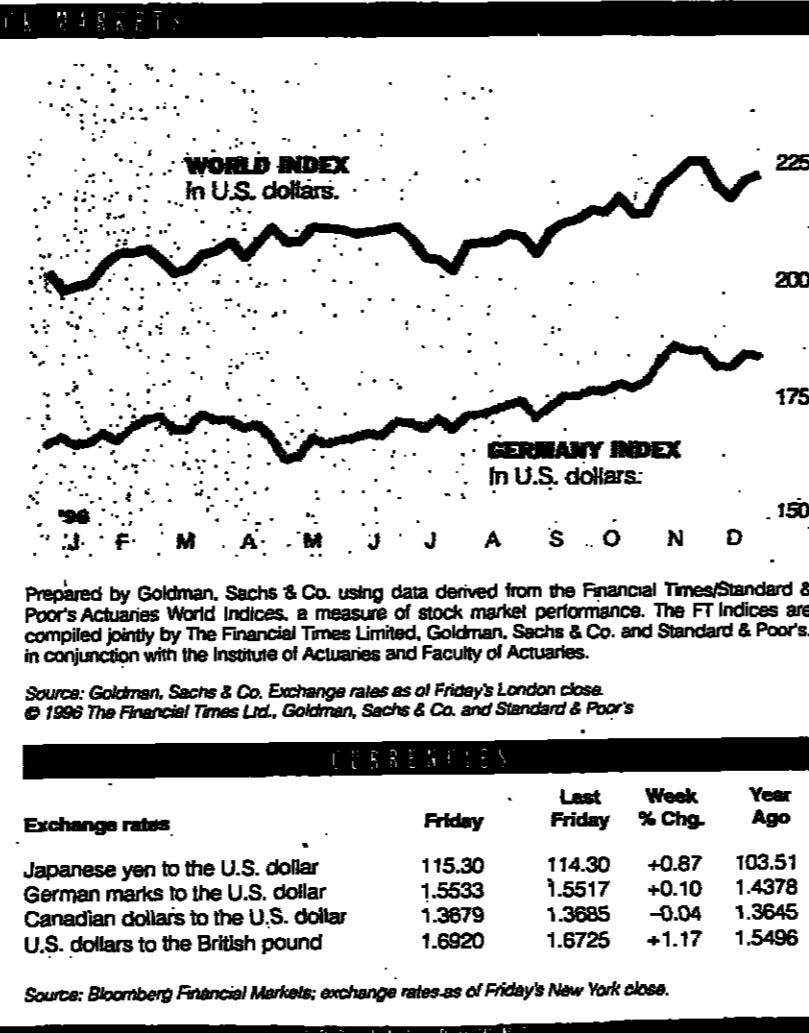
There is something to be said for such discretion, if we can trust auditors to enforce the standards rigorously and to stand up to companies that want to use the discretion to put out misleading figures. But the evidence that big accounting firms deserve such confidence is, at best, mixed.

Some business groups are angry at the F.A.S.B. and its rules, and would welcome more freedom. They may see the international route as a way to get around a tiresome busy-body.

American stock markets want more foreign listings and have been frustrated by the S.E.C.'s insistence that foreign companies must largely meet American standards before they can trade here. While many foreign companies have listed, some may be stalling in the hope that the weaker international standards will enable them to enter our markets without meeting our rules.

This is important for investors because it is accounting that provides the report card on how their companies are doing. And if accounting standards are perceived as too lax — as German and British ones have clearly been in the past — then investor confidence over time can be sapped. The S.E.C. should be very careful to make sure that the international rules are adequate — in every respect — before they are deemed adequate for American markets.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURR.			
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	Index	Week % Chg.	YTD % Chg.	YTD Dividend Yield
Australia	219.58	1.1	9	15.5	16	4.18	183.58	8.0
Austria	188.90	0.9	13	7.9	21	1.88	152.17	17.2
Belgium	225.78	0.2	19	8.0	20	3.58	178.40	17.5
Brazil	189.15	0.9	14	37.1	1	1.89	361.91	46.7
Britain	278.16	1.9	3	20.7	11	3.90	243.80	10.7
Canada	189.21	0.7	16	27.5	6	1.96	187.53	27.9
Denmark	344.05	1.4	6	19.1	13	1.65	278.41	27.9
Finland	242.41	0.9	12	29.6	5	2.12	236.42	38.7
France	211.38	1.0	11	17.3	14	2.81	173.91	26.4
Germany	186.13	-0.2	25	13.7	18	1.61	150.49	23.6
Hong Kong	506.23	1.8	4	30.6	4	3.10	502.90	30.7
Indonesia	228.14	1.2	7		27	1.54	330.72	
Ireland	318.34	1.6	5	24.6	8	3.43	267.56	19.1
Italy	82.24	0.6	17	11.6	19	2.21	93.96	7.6
Japan	129.37	-1.6	28	-16.5	24	0.81	94.39	-6.6
Malaysia	589.03	0.5	18	21.4	10	1.08	573.67	20.9
Mexico	1,209.72	0.2	20	16.8	15	1.06	1,039.41	19.1
Netherlands	329.02	1.1	8	20.6	12	2.82	262.09	31.3
New Zealand	91.37	-0.6	27	14.7	17	4.06	68.66	6.1
Norway	290.64	2.5	2	25.7	7	1.99	254.31	28.2
Philippines	203.63	-0.3	26		28	0.62	266.90	
Singapore	412.99	-0.2	24	1.4	22	1.04	266.52	0.4
South Africa	315.48	0.8	15	-18.1	25	2.44	322.53	5.1
Spain	216.61	2.6	1	31.1	3	2.84	215.00	41.6
Sweden	414.84	0.0	21	32.9	2	2.02	421.38	37.6
Switzerland	236.43	-0.1	23	0.2	23	1.47	197.72	17.4
Thailand	96.71	-0.0	22	-42.5	26	3.57	96.20	-41.5
United States	307.83	1.1	10	22.5	9	1.96	307.83	22.5



Dec. 23-27: Dow Reaches a High for 1996 as Bond Prices Also Rise

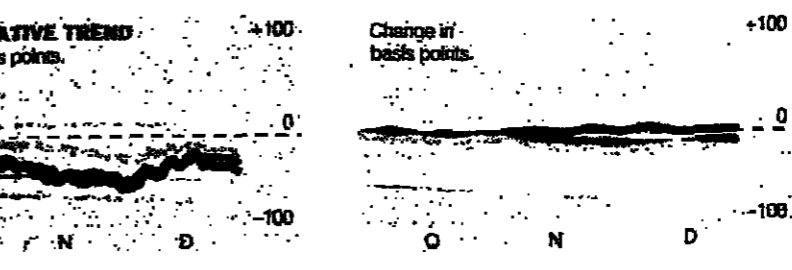
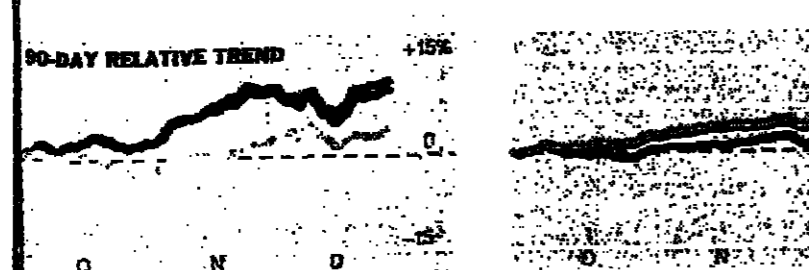
DOMESTIC EQUITIES		DOMESTIC BONDS	
Broad market	Up 1.05%	Treasuries	Up 0.35%
S. & P. 500 index	756.76	Ryan Labs. Total Return	195.90
Blue chips	Up 1.18%	Municipals	Up 0.45%
Dow 30 industrials	6,560.91	Bond Buyer Index	117.69
Small capitalization	Up 0.69%	Corporates	Up 0.37%
Russell 2000 index	359.17	Merrill Lynch Master index	852.35

AROUND THE WORLD			
European stocks	Up 1.07%	Asian stocks	Down 0.99%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	235.71	F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	148.60
Gold	Up 0.14%	New York cash price	\$369.80

Foreign indices are given in dollar terms.

BONDS		OTHER INVESTMENTS	
Long bonds	6.53%	Money market funds	4.83%
30-year Treasuries	Down 7 basis pts.	Taxable average	Up 1 basis pt.
Notes	5.78%	Bank C.D.'s	5.04%
2-year Treasuries	Down 5 basis pts.	1-year small savers	Unchanged
Municipals	5.70%	Stocks	1.98%
Bond Buyer index	Down 3 basis pts.	S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 1 b.p.

100 basis points = 1 percentage point



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Unfinished Business With Russia

The idea of abolishing nuclear weapons picked up some powerful support recently when a group of America's most distinguished military officers endorsed that long-term goal. One of the converts was retired Air Force Gen. Lee Butler, who directed the country's nuclear forces just a few years ago. His eloquent defense of a laudable if still unachievable idea should serve as a timely reminder that the United States and Russia have a left a good deal of arms control business unfinished in the years since the end of the cold war.

As President Clinton prepares for his second term, he faces no more vital national security issue than locking in the reductions in nuclear weapons already promised by Washington and Moscow and moving on to negotiate the next phase of cuts. While international attention has been drawn to other issues like terrorism, the effort to trim nuclear arsenals further has quietly stalled, and could even be reversed if a renewed drive is not made by Mr. Clinton and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia.

Since the United States and Russia started cutting their long-range nuclear weapons six years ago, the number of American strategic warheads has dropped from about 13,000 to 8,000 and Russian totals have dwindled from about 11,000 to 7,000. Additional warheads are being dismantled every week in America and Russia. Each country still maintains many thousands of smaller, battlefield nuclear warheads not covered by any treaty.

But the engine of the next large round of strategic warhead cuts, the second arms reduction treaty between the United States and Russia that was signed by President Bush and Boris Yeltsin in 1993 and approved by the Senate this year, has not yet been ratified by the Russian parliament. Under the treaty each country would reduce to around 3,500 the number of nuclear warheads deliverable to distant targets. The treaty would also eliminate the fearsome land-based missiles that carry up to 10 warheads each. Until Russia ratifies the treaty, these reductions cannot be guaranteed and negotia-

tions will be delayed on a third arms reduction accord that could bring each side's warhead total below 2,000. Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin ought to find a way to secure parliamentary approval. The obstacles are considerable but not insuperable.

The Russians, for starters, would like a new agreement clarifying the scope of the 24-year-old treaty that limits intercontinental missile defenses. The missile defense treaty allows short-range anti-missile systems like the Patriots used during the Persian Gulf war. But with new technologies extending the range and speed of these systems, Moscow wants clear definitions spelled out on which categories of missiles are permitted and which are banned. That may mean abandoning or modifying an ambitious new missile defense system now being tested by the Navy that teases the boundaries between short range and long range.

Another roadblock is Moscow's continuing concern over NATO's plans to admit new members from Central Europe, moving Western armies and potentially Western missiles closer to Russia's borders. Washington and its allies are now trying to work out a formal new relationship between NATO and Russia that may alleviate Russia's concerns.

The Russians are also worried about the cost of dismantling warheads and the possible need to build new single-warhead missiles to get Moscow's overall total back to the permitted ceiling once Russia's multiple-warhead missiles are eliminated. Securing the Russian reductions is well worth some modest American financial assistance. The need for new missiles can be eliminated if Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin can reach agreement in principle sometime soon to bring warhead totals down below 2,000 in a third arms reduction treaty that could be negotiated over the next few years.

With Mr. Yeltsin regaining strength after his heart surgery, he and Mr. Clinton will find no better opportunity for historic achievement in their second terms than making further deep reductions in nuclear arms.

Raising Medicare Standards

The agency that oversees Medicare and Medicaid has issued sensible rules that limit the financial penalties managed care plans can impose on doctors who exceed a plan's targets for ordering tests and procedures. Other new rules reflect a growing recognition that the Federal Health Care Financing Administration must assume responsibility for monitoring the quality of care that health plans operating under its auspices deliver to enrollees. That is a notable change of direction.

Though the Medicare and Medicaid plans are the last refuge of traditional fee-for-service coverage, almost 5 million elderly, or 12 percent of the Medicare population, and about 13 million poor people, a third of the Medicaid population, are enrolled in managed care. These numbers make the agency the largest purchaser of managed care in the country.

Managed care has cut health care inflation in half by generally paying doctors fixed fees regardless of their patients' needs. But that powerful incentive to cut out needless care also creates anxiety that doctors will cut out some necessary care, even though studies show no systematic problem. The new rules are designed to alleviate public anxiety.

The agency previously told managed care plans to eliminate so-called gag rules, which prevent doctors from informing patients about procedures the plan will not cover. Now the agency will prohibit plans from exposing doctors to financial

penalties that exceed 25 percent of their annual income. These are reasonable rules that will not substantially alter practices of most managed care plans.

The agency has also issued an important rule that will improve practices by Medicare and Medicaid managed care plans and potentially by plans throughout the private sector. The policy requires each plan to survey its enrollees each year to ask how patients were treated and how satisfied they were with their treatment. The agency has often pointed with pride to extremely low administrative costs as proof of its efficiency. But what the rock-bottom administrative costs really proved is that the agency was not doing much administering at all.

The survey marks a new direction. Initially, the information will be rudimentary, probably documenting little more than how long it took patients to see their primary doctors and how satisfied they were with the results. But over time the survey could evolve into a sophisticated report card that would tell the agency which plans, including its fee-for-service system, were treating patients the best. Of course, processing surveys and taking action will increase the agency's administrative costs — but that is an outcome Congress should accommodate.

The new rules are constructive and well designed to alleviate worries about managed care among the elderly and poor. They also move Government oversight to a higher standard.

Editorial Notebook

Sam Wanamaker's Great Obsession

LONDON
A curious and stirring sight awaits an American visitor to Southwark Cathedral, a surviving relic of medieval England on the south bank of the Thames. Among monuments in the nave to titled worthies and deceased prelates is a plaque "In Thanksgiving for Sam Wanamaker, Actor, Director, Producer, 1919-1993, whose vision rebuilt Shakespeare's Globe Theatre on Bankside in this parish."

Had Mr. Wanamaker died two decades ago, he would doubtless have been remembered as an eccentric American who upheld a hopeless cause. This year, however, the nearly finished Globe's premiere production, "Two Gentlemen of Verona," has ended a sellout run and will move to New York next month. As important, a grimly derelict neighborhood is recovering something like its Elizabethan gusto.

As a reporter present at the 1970 launch of Mr. Wanamaker's campaign, I remember the good-natured ridicule it provoked. Scoffers, myself included, owe his ghost an apology. The Globe is not a toy or theme-park fabrication but is as convincing and evocative as the

joined its Shakespeare troupe. He made his Broadway debut in 1942, fought in the Pacific theater in World War II and seemed destined for a successful career as director and classical actor, whose roles included a Stratford-on-Avon Iago opposite Paul Robeson's Othello.

But like Robeson, who was an avowed Communist, and innumerable other Americans who were former Communists or vaguely leftist, Mr. Wanamaker became unemployable in the blacklist decade. Some sought to salvage acting careers by confessing error and informing on colleagues before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Summoned to Washington for such a rite, Mr. Wanamaker chose exile in Britain. As punishment, his passport was revoked in the 1950's.

The Shakespeare project helped Mr. Wanamaker keep his sanity and dignity intact. On his first visit to London in 1948, he had sought traces of the original theater and was astonished to find only a blackened plaque on an unused brewery. He found this neglect inexplicable, and in 1970 launched the Shakespeare Globe Trust, later obtaining the building site and neces-

Cities Will Bear Brunt of Welfare Law Fallout

To the Editor:
"Food Stamps for the Unemployed," your Dec. 26 editorial on the Federal welfare law's provision prohibiting able-bodied, childless adults from collecting food stamps unless they work at least 20 hours a week, asks the right question about jobs: "What happens if counties fail to provide the tens of thousands of slots that will be needed?" The answer is an upsurge of calls to 911.

Federal and state disinvestment in the nation's poorest families will impose harsh and expensive burdens on cities and towns, the providers of last resort and the home of almost every jobless American.

President Clinton's signature on the welfare bill set in motion fundamental changes affecting hundreds of thousands of families and children. It also had significant consequences for city leaders. Even though few cities have direct responsibility for welfare services and benefits, these changes are likely to affect municipal credit ratings, services and revenues.

For cities and towns, especially those that have had disproportionate numbers eligible for assistance, less income for families translates into sharply reduced business and empty rental buildings, resulting in losses to the property tax rolls.

Most cities have neither the experience nor the resources for the responsibilities that are coming their way by default. There is more passing of the burden here than reform, and that burden will stop at the last level of government serving citizens.

President Clinton has said that the welfare reform bill as enacted into law should be modified before its implementation. We agree and ask to have a seat at the table when the changes are considered.
MARK SCHWARTZ
Washington, Dec. 26, 1996
The writer, a member of the Oklahoma City Council, is president of the National League of Cities.

Don't Know Much About History, but We Love the Movies

To the Editor:
"Once Villainous, Now Virtuous" (Week in Review, Dec. 23), on the repackaging of historical villains into heroes on the movie screen, ends by quoting Prof. Ted Cohen of the University of Chicago, who says: "There are other sources. There is history, and history isn't just any old story you want to believe." It would be lovely to think that the moviegoing public reads history and compares the facts with the fiction of film and television. But we have become a society that does not explore beyond the surface.

Most people seeing "Evita" probably assume they are viewing history, just as most people probably think of Mozart as he was pictured in "Amadeus." Drama is under no obligation to the facts. But let's not fantasize that the public sees fiction for what it is. When the visual media are as powerful a factor in so many lives and when thinking is supplanted by advertising, people accept most of what is put before them.
JUDITH KELLOCK
Ithaca, N.Y., Dec. 24, 1996



Luba Lubov

and Lech Walesa? Criminal and terrorist, or leader and hero?

It is impossible to separate historical facts from the way people "feel" about those facts. That is why history remains dynamic, and events of half a century ago are still discussed, written and argued about. The entertainment industry should be congratulated rather than vilified for producing films capable of evoking thought rather than serving up the same old fare.
BRIAN MACNAMARA
Warwick, N.Y., Dec. 24, 1996

Necessary Distortions

To the Editor:
All of history is a blur. When its tale is related through written scholarly works or a movie for the masses, it must necessarily distort fact. If we visualize Eva Peron as a "second-rate radio actress [who] transformed herself into one of the most powerful people in Latin America," as suggested in your Dec. 22 Week in Review article, how will we characterize our 40th President? Or Nelson Mandela

Examples, Please

To the Editor:
Your Dec. 22 Week in Review article's suggestion that glorifying "real-life villains" is a problem; unique to American film makers is

undermined by the examples used. "Evita" was written by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice and directed by Alan Parker. Englishmen all, last time anyone checked "The English Patient" was written and directed by Anthony Minghella, who is also English. "Michael Collins" was written and directed by Neil Jordan, an Irishman. "The People vs. Larry Flynt" was directed by Milos Forman, who is Czech. Your only example that rings true is "Bonnie and Clyde," in which two killers were turned into romantic adventurers. It was written by David Newman and Robert Benton and directed by Arthur Penn — all, um, Americans.
MARTIN CASELLA
New York, Dec. 23, 1996
The writer is a screenwriter.

Collins Wasn't Terrorist

To the Editor:
"Once Villainous, Now Virtuous" (Week in Review, Dec. 23) says that "in 'Michael Collins,' Liam Neeson turns terrorism into patriotism." Collins was far from a terrorist. After leading the Irish war of independence with the support of two-thirds of the democratically elected Irish members of Parliament, he negotiated a peace treaty with Britain, founded the democratic Irish Free State and insured its survival by facing down a military coup. Faithfulness to fact seems to be found not only in recent movies but also in your criticism.
ADRIAN E. RAFTERY
Seattle, Dec. 22, 1996

Serbs Will Struggle for Democracy Themselves

To the Editor:
In "Serbia Has No Vaclav Havel" (Op-Ed, Dec. 20), Laura Silber argues that the Serbian opposition movements, whatever their flaws, deserve Western support. As members of a Brandeis University delegation who recently returned from Belgrade, we agree.

The students, professors and activists with whom we met understand that national renewal is a long process whose ultimate success depends upon the ingenuity and perseverance of the Serbian people. But if the growth of civil society is necessarily a home-grown affair, there is also the need for outside nurturers.

The National Community Building Network, a consortium of 23 domestic initiatives supported by major American foundations including Ford, MacArthur, Kellogg and Rockefeller, has produced a rich body of experience on grassroots reform that civic practitioners in Serbia might draw from and adapt.

None of the Serbs with whom we spoke wanted foreign experts to pro-

pose solutions. What did interest them was the chance for peer exchanges so that lessons could be shared about ways to rebuild democracy from the bottom up.
PHILIP AARON
JOAN HOFFMAN, LAURENCE SIMONS
Waltham, Mass., Dec. 26, 1996

Belgrade Distress Call

To the Editor:
An item whose significance was lost in your Dec. 26 caption on a photograph showing protesters in Belgrade is that the Serbian flag is flying upside-down, the international sign of distress.

What better opportunity for Serbia's ally, Russia, and the United States to apply pressure on Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader, to capitulate to nascent democratic forces? In addition to preventing interecine bloodshed, the two superpowers could continue to build common cause and shed suspicions that have resurfaced because of recent spy scandals.
YURA ANDREIEV
Falls Church, Va., Dec. 26, 1996

N.R.A.'s Lost Clout

To the Editor:
Electoral losses related to the gun control issue are just one indicator of the diminishing influence of the National Rifle Association (front page, Dec. 24). The N.R.A. has also sustained repeated setbacks in its other principal interest: hunting rights.

Voters this year sided with animal advocates, and even some fair-minded sportsmen, over the rifle association in six states that decided statewide ballot initiatives addressing trophy hunting and commercial trapping. In spite of a blitz of N.R.A. advertising, voters outlawed steel-jaw leghold trapping in Colorado and Massachusetts; rejected hound hunting and baiting of bears and other predators in Massachusetts, Oregon and Washington; barred airborne hunting of wolves in Alaska, and maintained a longstanding ban on the trophy hunting of mountain lions in California.

Between 1972 and 1990, we animal protection advocates did not prevail in a single initiative fight, largely because of the influence of the gun lobby. Since 1990, we have had 10 statewide wins against the gun groups — a mark not only of our increasing organizational growth but of an atrophy in the N.R.A.'s political muscle.
WAYNE FACELLE
Vice President, Humane Society
Washington, Dec. 26, 1996

Science Meets Poetry

To the Editor:
Science Times' lead article on Dec. 24 examines the theory that ghosts of prehistoric beasts of prey account for the speed of the pronghorn, a present-day species of antelope.

Sometimes, poetry is decades ahead of science. Robinson Jeffers wrote these lines in the 1940's: "What but the wolf's tooth whittled so fine / The fleet limbs of the antelope? . . . Violence has been the sire of all the world's values." He went on to make the point that the human species is also a throwback to early beginnings: "Who would remember Helen's face / Lacking the terrible halo of spears? / Who formed Christ but Herod and Caesar? . . . Violence, the bloody sire of all the world's values."

Does all this portend a recapitulation of our vilest instincts? Perhaps not, if we can see who we were and can be. Isn't that the mission of enlightened science as well as poetry?
EUGENE GRAMM
Forest Hills, Queens, Dec. 26, 1996

Estate Tax Avoidance Didn't Increase Inequity

To the Editor:
Your Dec. 22 front-page discussion of estate and gift taxation is remarkable for what it does not disclose.

You quote 1995 figures, but you do not report that in the third quarter this year the payment of Federal estate and gift taxes was at a record annual rate of \$18.5 billion, up 20 percent from 1995. Including state and local levies, which totaled more than \$23 billion, estate and gift tax payments were \$41.3 billion, up 11 percent from the prior year.

Wealthy Americans may not be paying as much in estate taxes as some would like, but they are not rushing away from taxes.

You use the opinions of Prof. Edward N. Wolff to bolster your case that avoidance of estate taxes has made wealth distribution in the United States less equal.

Professor Wolff says there has been a sharp increase in inequality since the late 1970's. He wants a \$40 billion annual tax on wealth to support programs that he believes would level the playing field.

However, by his own comprehensive measures of wealth, the share of assets owned by the richest Americans was about the same in the 1980's as in the 1950's and 1960's, an much lower than in the 1920's.

The basic policy question is this: Should the United States, with chronic shortfall in net saving, investment, sluggish productivity, gains and limited improvement in real wages, tax investment assets to provide additional subsidies for consumption? Professor Wolff would presumably answer yes. I say no. If economic growth is the goal, there is a better case for eliminating estate taxes than for increasing them.
H. ERIC HEINEMAN
Great Neck, L.I., Dec. 22, 1996
The writer is an economist.

New York Football

To the Editor:
Your insights into New York football fiasco fall short in assessing blame (editorial, Dec. 26). In the case of the Jets, the problem is the fault of Leon Hess, the owner. You say he has an "instinct for picking hapless head coaches" and you name Bruce Coslet and Pete Carroll. Coslet has a distinguished career. Hess, in his impatience, fired him prematurely and he rejoined Cincinnati, as offensive coordinator. At Cincinnati fired Dave Shula for

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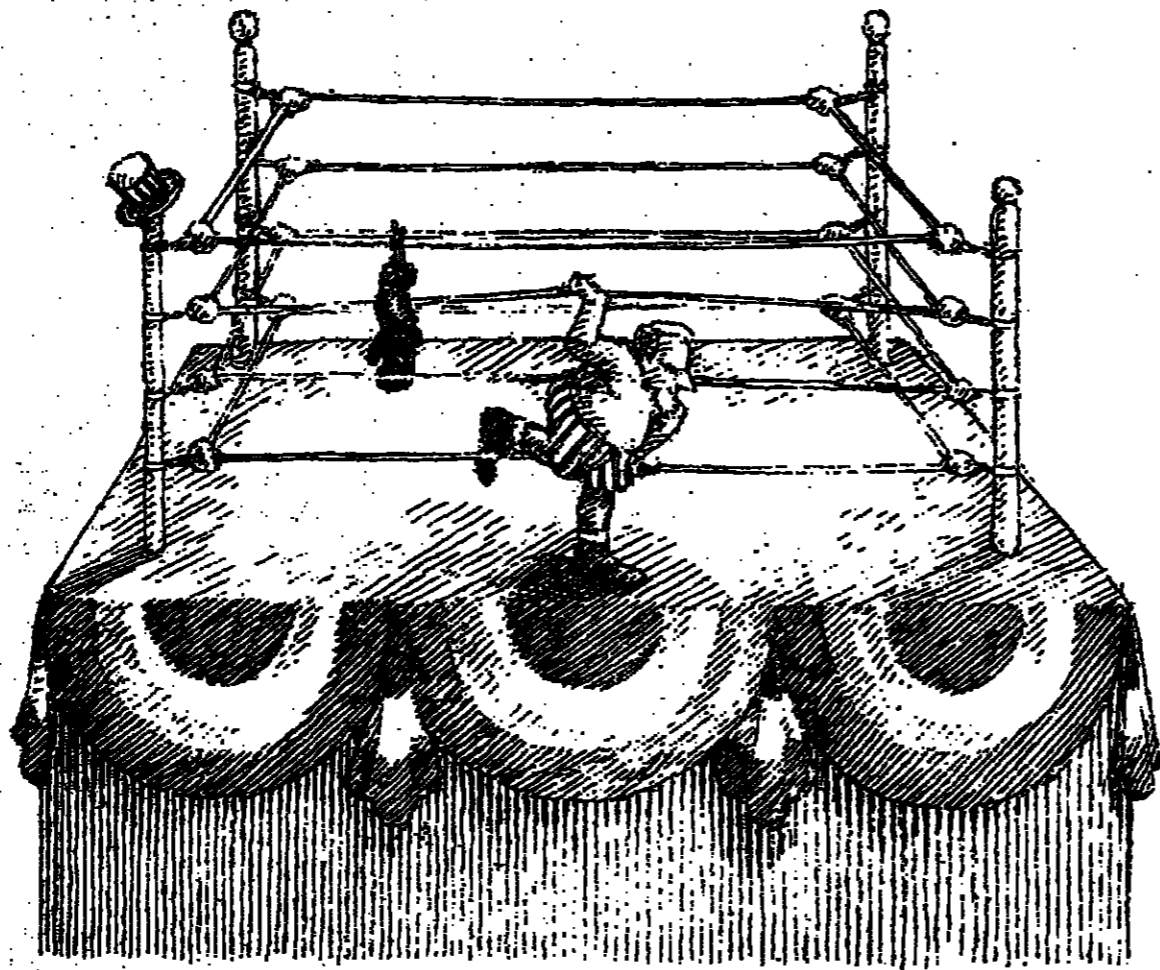
Making Nice Is Not the Same as Doing Good

By Michael J. Sandel

M CAMBRIDGE, MASS. — Civility is out of season in American life, and calls for civility echo across the land. Fed up with attack ads, negative campaigns and partisan rancor, Americans are also distressed at the coarsening of everyday life — rudeness on the highways, violence and vulgarity in Hollywood movies and popular music, brazenly confessional fare of prime-time television, the baseball star who spits at an umpire.

Sensing the backlash against incivility, President Clinton and Republican leaders promise to rise above partisanship and to seek common ground. Members of Congress plan a partisan weekend retreat to get to know one another better and to discuss ways of conducting their disagreements with greater civility. Meanwhile, a growing number of national commissions ponder ways of renewing citizenship and community. Americans are right to worry about the erosion of civility in everyday life. But it is a mistake to think that better manners and decorum can solve the fundamental problems of American democracy. In politics, civility is an overrated virtue.

The problem with civility is the very thing that tempts politicians to extol it: It is uncontroversial. But democratic politics, properly conducted, is filled with controversy. We elect politicians to debate hotly contested public



Chas B. Stackman

least in the sense of requiring the mobilization of like-minded citizens to fight for a cause that others oppose.

The incivility now rampant in American life will not be cured by exhortation or by a muting of political differences. It is a symptom of a problem with our public life more fundamental than can be solved by a softening of partisan voices. Americans' worries about incivility express a deeper fear that the moral fabric of community is unraveling around us. From families and neighborhoods to cities and towns to schools, congregations and trade unions, the institutions that traditionally provided people with moral anchors and a sense of belonging are under siege.

Taken together, these forms of community are sometimes described as the institutions of "civil society." A healthy civil society is important not only because it promotes civility (though this may be a welcome byproduct) but because it calls forth the habits, skills and qualities that make effective democratic citizens.

Of course, every institution of civil society has its own distinctive purposes. Schools are for educating the young, churches and synagogues for worship, and so on. But when we participate in schools or congregations, we also develop civic virtues, qualities that equip us to be good

citizens. We learn, for example, how to think about the good of the whole, how to exercise responsibility for others, how to deal with conflicting interests, how to stand up for our

The yearning for 'civility' in politics misses the point.

views while respecting the views of others. Above all, the institutions of civil society draw us out of our private, self-interested concerns and get us in the habit of attending to the common good.

A century and a half ago, Alexis de Tocqueville praised America's vibrant civil society for producing the "habits of the heart" on which democracy depends. If Tocqueville was right, there is reason to worry about the health of civil society, even beyond its effect on the manners people display in stores and on the streets.

For if families, neighborhoods and schools are in ill repair, they may be failing to produce the active, public-spirited citizens a successful democracy requires. (The dismal turnout

in the recent election may be one indication of this effect.)

This at least is the hunch underlying a profusion of national commissions sprouting up to explore ways to renew citizenship and community. They include the Penn National Commission on Society, Culture and Community, which convened this month in Philadelphia; the National Commission on Civic Renewal, led by William Bennett and retiring Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia; the National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal, whose chairman is former Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, and the Boston-based Institute for Civil Society, which recently announced a project on civic renewal to be led by retiring Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado.

Whether these efforts can help rejuvenate American civic life will de-

pend on their willingness to grapple with hard, controversial questions about the factors that have undermined virtue-sustaining communities in the first place. They must

resist the temptation, endemic to such commissions, to steer clear of politically charged questions.

On the surface, the project of renewing civil society has the same kind of nonpartisan appeal as the call for civility in public life. Who could oppose efforts to strengthen families, neighborhoods and schools? But the attempt to repair civil society will be uncontroversial only as long as it remains hortatory — the stuff of Fourth of July speeches and State of the Union addresses.

Any serious effort to shore up value-laden communities must face up to the forces that have undermined them. Conservatives like Mr. Bennett locate the threat to virtue-sustaining institutions in two sources: popular culture and big government.

Rap music and vulgar movies corrupt the youth, they argue, while big government and the welfare state sap individual initiative, enervate the impulse for local self-help and pre-empt the role of mediating institutions. Prune the shade tree of big government, they insist, and families, neighborhoods and church-based charities will flourish in the sun and space now crowded out by the overgrown tree.

The cultural conservatives are right to worry about the coarsening effects of popular entertainment, which, taken together with the advertising that drives it, induces a passion for consumption and a passivity toward politics at odds with civic virtue. But they are wrong to ignore the most potent force of all — the corrosive power of an unfettered market economy.

When corporations use their power to extract tax reductions, zoning changes and environmental conces-

sions from cities and states desperate for jobs, they disempower communities more profoundly than any Federal mandate ever did. When the growing gap between rich and poor leads the affluent to flee public schools, public parks and public transportation for privileged enclaves, civic virtue becomes difficult to sustain, and the common good fades from view.

Any attempt to revitalize community must contend with the economic as well as the cultural forces eating away at the social fabric. We need a political philosophy that asks what economic arrangements are hospitable to self-government and the civic virtues that sustain it. The project of civic renewal is important, not because it offers a way of muting political differences but because the health of American democracy requires it. So, too, does the prospect of civility. □

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Office Pool, 1997

WASHINGTON

Four of my long shots came in last year, including the second mole in the C.I.A. and the upset in the Israeli election. Obdurate contrarianism led me astray on 11 others, however, including the Presidency of the U.S. and the stock market. But a New Year is a new day:

1. When Newt Gingrich steps down, the new House Speaker will be (a) Henry Hyde; (b) Richard Armitage; (c) John Kasich; (d) John Boehner; (e) Tom DeLay; (f) Susan Molinari.

2. Surprise best seller of the year will be (a) "The Names of Things," etymological wordnerdery by Susan Brind Morrow; (b) "Crazy Rhythms," a revealing memoir by Len Garment; (c) "The Night in Question," stunning stories by Tobias Wolff.

3. At the secret heart of the Clinton dirty-money scandal is (a) the financial hushing of Webster Hubbell and Craig Livingstone; (b) the Riady conversation in the Presidential limousine; (c) the dealings in Jackson Stephens's Worthen Bank; (d) Paul Redmond's search for the ghost of Larry Wu-Tai Chin.

4. Clinton's major domestic success will be (a) restoring food stamps to legal immigrants by being gentle in use of the line-item veto; (b) holding G.O.P. capital-gains reduction to a measly 5 percent, no indexation; (c) unreforming welfare reform by one-third; (d) getting Trent Lott to join him in passing the buck to commissions on Social Security and Medicare.

5. Clinton's Albritton foreign policy will be (a) happily hawkish as NATO expands eastward despite Moscow's grumbling; (b) decidedly dovish as commerce with Castro commences; (c) inept as U.S. pressure on Netanyahu encourages Arafat to demand a divided Jerusalem; (d) impotent as

Outsmart the pundit, collect nothing.

China lays a heavy hand on Hong Kong freedom with no U.S. economic retaliation.

6. The Supreme Court will decide (a) that in doctor-aided suicides, there is no "right to die"; (b) that libertarians are right in their objection to drug testing; (c) to reverse the Eighth Circuit and hold 7-to-2 that Paula Corbin Jones's lawsuit will have to wait until her accused harasser leaves office, Scalia and Ginsburg dissenting.

7. First Whitewater witness to crack and implicate the boss in a cover-up will be (a) hushed Webster Hubbell; (b) sick Jim Guy Tucker; (c) unpardonable Susan McDougal; (d) central Bruce Lindsey; (e) broke Maggie Williams; (f) resentful David Watkins; (g) dumped Harold Ickes.

8. President Clinton will (a) pardon co-conspirators and risk impeachment; (b) refuse pardons and risk co-conspiracy charge; (c) fire Ken Starr as ultra-partisan and risk firestorm; (d) let justice take its course and win in court; (e) laugh heartily when frustrated Starr files a criminal information in lieu of indictment.

9. Al Gore will (a) clash with Tennessee Senator Fred Thompson in Senate dirty-money hearings; (b) begin subtly to put space between himself and a weakening Clinton; (c) replace command-and-control environmentalism with flexible industry incentives.

10. Winner of the year will be (a) "The English Patient," sweeping the Oscars; (b) dissident Wei Jingsheng, getting the Nobel Prize he needs to save his life in a Chinese prison; (c) Web-TV and the digital video disk that plays movies, as they zoom past cable TV and dish the satellite Whigs.

11. Power is realigned as (a) Daschle and Gephardt form coalition of united Democrats and rebellious moderate Republicans to back Clinton and overwhelm the G.O.P. "majority"; (b) contrariwise, united Republicans join with blue-dog Democrats to overcome Presidential vetoes; (c) Aleksandr Lebed makes surprise deal with the Communists, forcing Yeltsin to replace dull Prime Minister Chernomyrdin with lively Moscow Mayor Luzhkov and hated staff chief Chubais with reformer Yavlinsky.

12. President's popularity (a) drops under impact of Congressional hearings on Asian connection and revelations of Independent Counsel; (b) rises slightly as new White House counsel employs balance-of-contrition strategy with ethically wounded Speaker Gingrich; (c) holds steady as people grow bored with scandal and economy stagnates, interest rates drop, stock market marches on up; (d) soars as Madonna's sympathetic portrayal of the First Lady in Andrew Lloyd Webber's "The Trial of Hillary" smashes Broadway records.

My choices: 1-c, 2-c, 3-d, 4-d, 5-all, 6-c, 7-c, 8-d, 9-c, 10-a (to avoid a shutout), 11-none, 12-a. Remember: There's no fun in playing only favorites.

Thomas L. Friedman is on vacation.

questions — for example, how much to spend on education and defense and care for the poor, how to punish crime, whether to permit abortion. We should not recoil at the clamor and contention that result; it is the sound and the spectacle of democracy.

It is desirable, of course, that political debate be conducted in a spirit of mutual respect rather than enmity. But too often these days, the plea for more civility in politics is a high-minded way of pleading for less critical scrutiny of illicit campaign contributions or other misdeeds. Likewise, the call to rise above partisanship can blur legitimate policy differences or justify a politics that lacks principle or conviction.

From the New Deal to the civil rights movement, principled politics has always been partisan politics, at

Michael J. Sandel, a professor of Government at Harvard, is the author of "Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy."

The Hidden Meanings of 'Black English'

By Patricia J. Williams

The melting pot is boiling over again, this time with a decision by the school board in Oakland, Calif., to reclassify "ebonics," or black vernacular, as a distinct language. The battle is a familiar one that has raged at least since the 1980's. The issues it raises are too often polarized in a simplistic debate about whether black American speech is "good" West African traditionalism or just "bad" English.

There are more complex questions to consider. Can the notion of a singular black vernacular (if that is what ebonics purports to be) account for the enormous variations in black American speech, which range from true dialects, like Pullah, to a panoply of distinctly regional accents? Is so-called Received Standard American English what most Americans speak anyway? And, as a prickly Oxford-educated acquaintance of mine wonders, when could any part of the American vernacular be called English?

The consensus in the media seems to be that, since black vernacular is deemed not a language in the strict linguistic sense, the Oakland board just wrong. That leads to more wrangling about whether the board full of Afrocentric neo-nationalists whether it's just another example of Teachers Refusing to Teach.

It is true that most black speech is early comprehensible as a variant American English, albeit with grammatical and syntax patterns that are strongly influenced by West African language structures. The portended battles over rap lyrics as political speech — however densely vernacular the language is — have not been about the failure of the larger society to understand the words as English.

At the same time, part of the battle over ebonics is premised on the assertion that black vernacular can-

not be understood: that its continued use accounts for the high numbers of blacks in remedial education, and high black unemployment rates. So maybe the Oakland school board was right.

If it's Greek to nonspeakers, then go ahead and treat it like Greek. And if funds are available for bilingual education to help recent immigrants assimilate into the mainstream, then maybe this isn't strictly about linguistic history, but more about an investment in the future. So by all means hitch the aspirations of the Middle Passage right onto the forward-lurching wagons of the progressive immigrant myth.

Perhaps the real argument is not about whether ebonics is a language or not. Rather, the tension is revealed in the contradiction of black speech being simultaneously understood and not understood. Why is it so overwhelmingly, even colorfully comprehensible in some contexts, particularly in sports and entertainment, yet deemed so utterly incapable of effective communication when it comes to finding a job as a construction worker?

Causing further confusion in this

The ebonics battle is about the abandonment of public schools.

debate is the apparent treatment of illiteracy as if it were black speech. Black children are crowded into remedial education classes and are disadvantaged in finding jobs because too many of them have never been taught any variation of the printed word, whether phonics, ebonics or Esperanto. Some young children learn more of the alphabet on "Sesame Street" than they can in overtaxed and overcrowded inner-city schools.

Moreover, the very conflation of

illiteracy and the reasoned, rich and expressive complexity of most forms of black speech is based on a peculiarly freighted symbolism in the American lexicon. While accent prompts many levels of discrimination in the United States, there is no greater talisman of lower or underclass status than the black accent (or any, really), no greater license to mock than with some imitation of black speech. Whether in The Dartmouth Review or "The Lion King," black English is the perpetual symbolic code for ignorance, evil and jest, the lingo of hep cats and hyenas.

Even solidly middle-class blacks with strings of higher degrees and perfect command of standard grammatical structure can face discrimination if their accents are deemed in any way identifiable "black."

Is it really any wonder that there is such an ambivalent response to mainstream standardized speech patterns among black children when the "standard" is so often imparted with such missionary conviction about eliminating "bad" linguistic acts? It's as if the very spontaneity of their speaking were an extension of the general lawlessness of black existence.

Is there not a way to teach the rules of what is called Received Standard American English without such generous side dishes of humiliation?

Would the recognition that there really are rules and structures in black English help us get past those smug assertions of nobler, higher linguistic conventions? Can we resist the evocative echo of Henry James's fear of random, chaotic utterances spewed from the dark recesses of the vulgar (read Irish) mouth? Can we resist the nostalgia for an unalloyed classicism that never was?

I understand the effort of the Oakland school board to legitimize ebonics as one of translation, which is a generally respected enterprise, rather than cultural uplift, which is inherently condescending. That said, one thing that troubles me about the Oakland proposal is the reported plan to teach the city's teachers not

only the structure and history of ebonics but also how to speak it.

It's hard enough to sort out the values embedded in the aversion to black speech as a "bad" version of what is rather too exclusively called "white" English. Imagine having teachers who speak standard class-

Do we really want white teachers learning this vernacular?

room English flailing about in some really bad version of a standardized black English. If they end up speaking ebonics as badly as teachers who learn a little "professional Spanish," I cringe to think of the consequences: pidgin versions of Talking to the Moon. Ugh. And I do mean ugh in the most classical sense.

There are enough standard-English speakers who just love to "talk black," who at the drop of a hat break out in "basketball" — now there's an official language — and who, encountering any black person, start "dude"-ing and "I be"-ing up a storm, high- and low-fiving to beat the band. This phenomenon is part minstrelsy, part presumptuousness and, most complicated of all, part of the mainstream's assimilation of black speech patterns that, once incorporated, are promptly forgotten as such.

I worry a bit that this natural and overlapping fluidity of American vernacular and its regionalisms will be rendered all the more invisible by falsely turning teachers into linguistic anthropologists, adventurers in the "foreign" terrain of alien verbiage.

Finally, a great concern about the Oakland school board's action has been the rather transparent strategy of categorizing ebonics as a distinct language in order to gain access to extra financing for the educa-

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.

Cultural Trend-Spotting Becomes All the Rage

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

THIS WEEK, with the coming of the new Year, there may be a spirit of rebirth at large in the land, a sense of something new about to begin. But if so, the feeling will be all too familiar. The displacement of the old and the celebration of the new has become a year-round habit. In fact, we are always resetting our clocks, recalibrating our sense of newness, ringing out and ringing in at ever faster rates. We have created a culture founded almost entirely on trends.

In newsrooms, board rooms and classrooms, we "Braille the culture," as one professional trend spotter, Faith Popcorn, has famously put it. We run our fingertips along trend-bumps as they speed past. Sales of snoring remedies are up. Sales of exotic fruit drinks are down. Current events are news in opera (in recent years, Stewart Wallace's "Harvey Milk," John Adams's "Nixon in China," Anthony Davis's "X: The Life and Times of Malcolm X"). Nineteenth-century novels are big on screen (last year, Jane Austen; this year, Henry James). Television sitcoms celebrate chattering friendships ("Seinfeld," "Friends" and various imitators). Things are moving so fast that some fashion gurus declared the "Evita" look dead even before the Madonna film opened last week.

We give everything a name — decades, styles, movements, generations — in attention-getting capital letters. The Me Decade was named by Tom Wolfe in 1976, after it was more than half over. The 80's were slurred as the Decade of Greed. The Beats begat the Baby Boomers who begat the Punks who begat Gen X who now await newly named successors.

In advanced intellectual life, trend-spotting is becoming just as frenetic, with ideas and arguments taking on many of the characteristics of fashion. Structuralism was superseded by Semiology, which joined forces with Lacanianism, which was displaced by Deconstruction, which was superseded by Cultural Studies. Now everything is engulfed by Po-Mo — post-modernism — which sometimes seems to be declaring that all trends are created equal.

Nowhere is the swirl more frenzied than in pop culture, which hasn't even got time for names or details. A generation in pop-culture terms seems to measure about two years, and a trend can come and go seemingly in a matter of weeks. Funk, hip-hop, house music and gangsta rap jostle for attention, with their variations competing for new, revised monikers. In television, the 50's and 60's are joined by the 70's and 80's as Nick at Nite and the cable industry create trends out of recycled nostalgia. It seems as if we are always racing to catch up with these changes in taste and style, learning the new names and constantly seeking to find newer ones. We want to ride the crest of these waves; we hope we never float helplessly while the action is elsewhere. We are trend addicts, seeking to be on top, ahead, beyond or on the brink. In fact, the trendiest trend in culture right now is trend-spotting.

Culture is almost haphazardly strewn about us, on screens, billboards, in concert halls and art galleries, filtered through millions of minds, executed with thousands of techniques. It's there in advertising and in serious music, in the latest Hollywood blockbuster and in the dumbest television sitcom, in university classrooms and in political rallies.

But culture is increasingly difficult to decipher, so we seek the supposed essences in the midst of chaos, trends that give a semblance of order and connection in a world we are partly constructing, partly being swept away in. There is an element of anxiety in this quest, but somewhere in this mess — and much of it is a mess — there seems to be a message, or at least a mirror, offering some explanation of ourselves we cannot find elsewhere.

And if we, the consumers, seek trends, how much keener are the producers of our entertainment, the marketers who bet millions of dollars on whether a particular star is "hot" or a particular book will "take off." There is money to be made out of our obsessions.

Faith Popcorn, for example, whose invented name promises the snap and crackle of instant satisfaction along with the reliability and confidence of homespun religion, is a professional trend reader. Among her credentials, she notes that she correctly predicted the demise of wine coolers and the rise of gourmet coffees and that major corporations like American Express and Peisco



The German philosopher George William Hegel, far left, whose use of the term *Zeitgeist* may have given rise to the notion of trend, probably didn't have in mind Madonna's latest movie look in "Evita," Andy Warhol's Pop Art "Marilyn" or even styles in music, represented in "First Orchestra in America," by Theresa Bernstein.



find. If we say buddy movies are "in" one season, or action thrillers the next, this is not a matter of progress, bringing us greater understanding; it is just a change in preferences. Every trend is just additional evidence of change rather than another step toward stability.

This was not always the case. Such extreme quests for trends were once unnecessary partly because of something now quaintly known as tradition. Tradition was once an imposing, if porous and amorphous, presence, a sense of past achievement that provided the context within which new artworks were created. The tradition — or traditions — invoked in an artwork partly provided its premises, partly its style, partly even its subject matter.

Listeners could comprehend Beethoven because they had come to know the music of Haydn, Mozart and lesser talents who had similar ideas about musical structure and drama. French Impressionism achieved its impact partly by rejecting a tradition of academic painting. There was a time when tradition forcibly affected how paint was applied to canvas, which images would be used in a novel, whether one musical line could be combined with another.

There was plenty of movement within a tradition — which is why there are so many distinctive works — though the tradition still provided a frame of reference. Each work was not only addressing an audience of viewers, listeners or readers but was also conversing with the many other works that preceded it.

The early development of opera, for example, was related to Renaissance conceptions of Greek drama and to the notion that a link existed between the meanings of words and their sounds. Stravinsky, the critic Richard Taruskin has shown us, worked within multiple folk traditions of his native Russia, which the composer wed to the manners of Parisian modernism. The development of Pop Art is inconceivable without reference to Dadaism and the rejection of the tradition of aesthetic meaning.

It is impossible to consider any significant achievement in the arts during the last five centuries without invoking the word "tradition." A rebellious act is as beholden to the tradition it rejects as a conservative one is to the tradition it upholds: that is what the avant-garde has been about and why it can now seem so formulaic.

Tradition implies expanse and history; trend implies brevity and sensation. Tradition invokes age; trend speaks of youth. Tradition demands reference to the past; trend demands iconoclasm and newness. Tradition is based on resemblance — how this artwork or that aspect of culture invokes or relies on what has come before; trend is based on difference — how this artwork is distinct from what has come before.

Tradition also provides a context for culture, a home. Artists work

requiring no proof; it attracts followers rather than leaders, crowds rather than individuals. (Trends can grow into traditions, but this is a long process requiring commitment, interest and labor.)

For a large part of cultural history, there was a balance between these two attitudes to the past and present — a balance guided by what T. S. Eliot called the presence of the past. But now that balance has shifted and the past has become a burden. The very word "tradition" has taken on the suggestion of something rigid, stultifying, restrictive, mindless. During the last hundred years, many artists have even cultivated this attitude: now it has become widely accepted that the tradition will kill art has become self-fulfilling.

Consider the situation in the world of classical music. Despite new interpreters of the mainstream repertory and new compositions appearing on the margins of music culture, there is a sense of finality in the concert world. Within the last 30 years, changes to the Western music tradition have been truly marginal. Failure to pass on the tradition to new audiences may mean that both composers and listeners will cease to treat it as a living organism; that is one reason conversations with many composers, performers and managers tend to become morbid.

There is such a sense of finality, that many composers have deliberately sought other traditions in which to ground themselves. Minimalism was influenced by African and Asian music. Eastern European mysticism tried to discard three centuries of narrative drama and leap back into the Renaissance. Avant-garde groups have tried to adapt pop instrumentation and manners.

These are all evidence that the music of the concert hall from about 1780 to 1950 — the core of the Western tradition — has ceased to have a compelling hold on creators, and that there is no secure tradition within which classical music can develop, only a series of nascent alternatives. Something has come to an end.

This situation leaves the way wide open for the most fashionable trends to make their way into the concert scene — ideas about programming (much crossover) or orchestras (more pops). The high arts are not completely vulnerable because the aura of tradition still hovers, slowing the pressure of trends, moderating them. In most of the high arts, the traditions are so weighty with achievement that they provide frames of reference, even when trends loom large.

In mass entertainments like film and television, however, tradition has much less depth or weight. It once seemed to have a chance: silent film began invoking the operatic tradition — in the design of movie houses, the musical accompaniments and the heightened use of gesture to suggest meaning. Film began to develop a tradition of its own.

sense of a tradition in a form that has almost entirely lost what it once had.

Popular music, some of which has a long tradition connecting it with black American musical styles, also makes little obeisance to the richness of that tradition. The emphasis, even when drawing on contemporary forms of black music, is primarily on the new, and the different. While there are undoubtedly influences and traditions in popular music, innovation, mass audience appeal and iconoclasm tend to be the defining forces. Television is no different. There are exceptions, but for the most part, the medium needs to respond energetically to the demands of passing trends.

As in entertainment, so too, in intellectual life. The controversy over the canon in the universities — questioning whether the great books of the West should still be required reading — is a controversy over whether this tradition (which is actually a multiplicity of traditions) will be a presence in the future. But critics of the canon tend to treat this body of knowledge as if it were similar to everything else in our trend-ridden era, the reflection of simple ideas — in this case, negative and narrow ones like racism or imperialism.

In fact, a developing academic discipline known as "cultural studies" is partly a study of trends and their meanings. Few distinctions are

made between a Braille-like bump in popular culture or an imposing achievement in a highly developed tradition; for some scholars, both contain equally important information. The appeal of shopping centers is as crucial as the image of the body in Western art, the nature of the sports fan as central as the education of a scientist.

There is something amiss in these efforts to treat a tradition with no more seriousness than the latest passing fashion. When the early-19th-century German philosopher Hegel used the word "Zeitgeist," he was trying to outline the course of world history as a series of systematic transformations in human consciousness.

A HOST OF SINS

BY BRYANT WHITE / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- Attack severely
- Sweet, dark wine
- Saw-billed duck
- Dutch city on the Rhine
- Bacchanalian activity
- Silly
- Venomous snake
- Girl, informally
- "M*A*S*H" regular
- Noted Riverdale High student
- Insanity and others
- Ballerina Spessivtseva
- Philbrick's "Three Lives"
- Some wts.
- Silver coins of ancient Greece
- Pot-au— (meat and vegetable dish)
- were
- Bossy remark?
- Spanish arm
- Rat Pack member
- Make, as bread
- Captain of the Half Moon
- Quarterback's cry
- Sugar source
- Victim in a 1932 mystery, with "the"
- It comes from a fountain
- Perfect
- Division of a long poem
- List shortener
- Swamp
- Separates
- Writers Meyer and Ira
- One who walls
- Other: Fr.
- "The Dark at the Top of the Stairs" writer
- Planetarium
- Comic punctuation from a drummer
- Prepares, in a way
- Chivvy
- Help the cause
- Mystery author Lathen
- Pitch
- "Arabian Nights" hero
- First name in

DOWN

- Shortens
- Worm for bait
- One of the Leeward Islands
- Head of Thermopylae?
- One of L.B.J.'s beagles
- Mystery author Lathen
- Chopper
- "This is —!" (police cry)
- 1948 title
- Year St. Augustine was born
- They undergo mitosis
- Prayer
- Ones voting yes
- Vociferous
- nova
- Plot to plant
- "The Ten Commandments" location
- Michael Jackson's first #1 hit
- Where Triton is
- El (Superman's real name)
- Doodad
- United Nations vote
- Opinions
- "Relax"
- Feldspar, e.g.
- Uniqueness
- Chief Vedic god
- Wine shipment
- Biographer Winslow
- Kind of fingerprint
- Branch railroad, e.g.
- Intelligently planned progress
- Flipper
- Suitable for service
- Blast furnace apparatuses
- Charlot-driving Greek god
- Ready to ambush
- The East, en España
- Broke a rule of play
- Migratory songbird
- AI —
- Just touch
- Pioneer in medicine
- Macarena and others
- Jacob's first wife
- Opposed, in Dogpatch
- Clockmaker Thomas
- angelica (organ stop)
- Singer Sumac
- Overseas title

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

P	R	A	D	O	B	R	A	V	A	D	O	G	R	A	H	A	N
T	R	E	N	O	R	R	E	C	I	T	E	D	L	A	T	I	N
S	O	F	A	R	I	N	A	V	E	N	T	W	A	E	I	T	I
U	P	S	T	A	G	E	D	N	E	O	N	E	D	E	T	A	I
R	I	T	T	V	E	S	I	T	E	S	A	I	R	T	A	I	T

Dropping the habit

Rehabilitating women drug offenders have a much tougher time getting the support they need than do their male counterparts.

Judith Sudilovsky reports

EVERY morning Isabelle Sabah wakes up at 6 and gets ready for her job as head chef at an El Gaucho restaurant in Tel Aviv. While many people hate getting up that early, the struggle is twice as difficult for Sabah.

"Drug users love to get high and stay in bed all day," said Sabah, 44, who has been in and out of jail for the past 10 years on drug charges, and was most recently released from jail nine months ago. "At first it was hard having to get up early and wait for buses. Before I had never used buses. I would always take taxis or get rides from the gang. When I started to work, I had to wait for the bus and I would pray that God would give me the strength just to wait for the bus."

She started her rehabilitation process while still at Neveh Tirtza Women's Prison. By the end of the year, she was the only woman in the program who had succeeded in steering clear of drugs, and when she got out of jail she decided she wanted to continue putting her life back together. Through a special employment project established by the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority in 1994 for women offenders, Sabah found her job at the El Gaucho restaurant.

Establishing rehabilitation programs for female prisoners is more difficult than for male prisoners since women are often given shorter sentences so there is not enough time to work with them in prison, said Avraham Hoffman, director of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority.

In addition, many of the existing rehabilitation programs don't take into consideration the women's special needs, said social worker Michal Latte, who coordinates the PRA employment program for women. At first, the PRA worked with the women in rehabilitation programs together with men, but they discovered that the women

were falling through the cracks.

Since up to 90 percent of the women have been sexually abused and victimized for most of their lives, they have hit rock bottom in terms of self-esteem and self-confidence when they are released from prison. They need a more intensive treatment program which includes more direction and supervision than male offenders, said Latte, who at 28 is the driving force behind the employment project and acts as social worker, mother, and cheerleader to the released prisoners. In addition to Latte, each woman is matched with a volunteer who acts as a role model and provides friendly support.

Recently, the PRA held an awards ceremony for some 25 former women prisoners and their employers who have taken part in the employment project to mark the women's first full year of work. The program is concentrated mostly in the central region, where most of the women offenders live.

Finding work for female former prisoners is also harder than for men, said Latte. While most men have some sort of experience in construction work or other physical labor, most of the women have never worked in their lives and have only minimal education. They are usually qualified only for low-paying menial jobs, and for someone who is used to living the high life with profits from drug sales and prostitution, managing on NIS 3,000 a month from waiting on tables can be quite a shock, she said.

The PRA provides special courses for the women to improve their marketable work skills and also holds seminars and weekly therapy sessions to help them cope with the new demands and responsibilities in their lives, such as paying rent and utility bills, and dealing with their free time. Women have found jobs working in restaurants,

stores, factories, and offices, and as cleaners.

Latte must also keep her eyes open for any hints of sexual harassment on the part of the employer. She removed one woman from her job because she suspected the boss was making inappropriate advances towards her, said Latte. There is always the danger of an employer taking advantage of the woman's weakened position, said Hoffman, and someone who would normally not behave that way may think that the woman won't mind his sexual advances since she had once been a prostitute.

IN ALL of Israel, there are about 180 women prisoners compared to some 6,000 male prisoners, said Hoffman. The stigma against women offenders is greater than against men because society seems to be better able to cope with a man who has strayed from the accepted path than with a woman who has used drugs or worked as a prostitute, he said.

Usually the families of female prisoners cut off relations with their jailed daughters mainly because of the issue of sex involved in prostitution, he said, so the women lose the basic support network which men prisoners receive from their mothers, wives and girlfriends. The reason for this is very simple, he said: Since most women prisoners were sexually abused by family members as girls, parents don't want to be reminded of their own past sexual transgressions when their daughters are jailed for prostitution.

While wives of prisoners keep the family and home together and make sure the children visit their jailed father, men are usually quick to divorce their wives once they go to jail, he said. So while men have a home waiting for them, most women are very alone in the world once they are released from prison. And since most of the



In the kitchen at El Gaucho. At first Isabelle Sabah (left) had problems with lateness, but thanks to the patience of her employer Nati Hadad (right), she overcame them. Now 'Isabelle is a part of us,' says Hadad. (Israel Sun)

women have children, they also have the added responsibility of child care.

"I'm not in touch with my family," said Meirav, 31, the mother of a 12-year-old, who just got out of prison three months ago and asked that her real name not be used. She, like Sabah, is living at the PRA women's hostel. "A man won't go visit his wife in jail, he'll go find himself another woman. My brother is an addict too and my mother and father have stayed in touch with him, but they have no contact with me."

Meirav also joined the PRA employment program but she is still at the beginning of the long and difficult path of reintegrating into society. She had been working at a dry-cleaning store, but when she didn't get the promotion she had been promised and the store manager yelled at her, she quit on the spot.

"Of course now I know that isn't the way I should have done it,"

she said. Hadad, manager of the restaurant, but with patience they worked the problems out. Now, if Sabah is late they don't worry because they know she will get the work done. They will be sending her to an advanced cooking course soon, he said.

"Today Isabelle is a part of us," said Hadad. "We don't feel we are working with a former convict. We have never had such an organized kitchen. We want to find her more challenges so she won't get bored here."

Two other women offenders had worked at the restaurant before Sabah, said Hadad, but each only stayed for a short period of time. Most of the women do not stay at the first job where they are placed, said Latte.

Despite the praise and advancement, it is still a daily battle, said Sabah, whose two grown children live with their father in Umm el-Fahm. She puts Nati's shoulder and plays with his ponytail affectionately. She fears taking on too

much responsibility; she fears being alone and not being able to cope with the daily pressures, she said. She has cut off all ties with her old buddies who live only a few minutes' drive away in Jaffa, she said, but it takes all her strength not to go and try to help her drug-addict brother there. Another brother is in jail on drug charges, and a third brother, also a drug addict, was killed during a fight.

"I know I have an illness and I can fall back down again," she said. "I want to help my brother and show him what I have done, but I am afraid if I go see him I will feel sorry for him and I will fall back down with him. I don't want to be with anyone who will remind me of my past, although I need to remember so I won't fall again. Here at this job I have strength. I don't have any family left, but here I have found myself a new family. I thank God that he put me into Michal's hands."

When Sabah first came to work at El Gaucho there were problems of lateness, acknowledged Nati

The making of a pig

JUST how far we are entitled to go in pushing back the limiting edges of scientific discovery, and just what frontiers are to be explored, becomes more and more a subject for debate. There is no area where these questions are more rigorously debated than in the entire field of genetic engineering. British scientists and animal rights activists are constantly at sword's point in the long-standing war between those who see some types of animal exploitation as a solution for pressing human problems and those who say that the utilization of animals for human needs is immoral.

Now, some environmental groups are also backing the animal rights groups. One of the most pressing controversies centers around Astrid, the first transgenic pig. When Astrid was no more than a fertilized ovum, the cells were injected with human DNA in the hope that Astrid's genetic make-up would be close enough to the human to create immunological compatibility so as to allow organ transplants into humans that would be less likely to be rejected by the human body. Astrid, a "test-tube baby" piglet, was born on four years ago this month.

Now, she is a healthy mature sow, and tests conducted so far show that the "pig with the human heart," as she has been dubbed by the British press, may well be living up to the expectations of the scientists who produced her. She is fertile and her offspring are also carrying the human DNA. "There

EARTHLY CONCERNS D'VORA BEN SHAUL

is no doubt" say scientists at a secret location in Cambridgeshire, England, "that transgenic pigs are far more compatible with humans than are ordinary pigs. The factor of hyperacute rejection seems to be absent, and that is a serious factor."

However, the value of perfusion tests - the only tests done so far - wherein human blood is perfused through the heart of the donor animal, are limited in their scope and no one will really know until the time comes when they can actually attempt a transplant. So far, the scientists have failed to get permission for an experiment with a human recipient.

Many scientists are extremely perturbed by this and mention that it's easier to get permission to transplant a baboon heart into a human - despite the fact that in every case so far the animal heart has been rejected - than to get permission to try a heart that has a much higher possibility of saving the patient's life.

They feel that the granting health agencies are simply cowed by the pressure from the animal rights groups and that their decisions are not based on scientific considerations.

Because of the acute shortage of donor organs throughout the world, surgeons dream of xenotransplantation producing a range of

transgenic animals for transplants and for treatment, particularly since the use of embryonic human tissue is so controversial, although extremely promising in the treatment. Also, because it may even cure several diseases including Parkinson's disease and juvenile diabetes.

But the use of transgenic animals is only marginally less controversial. So vociferously have animal rights activists opposed this new step, that Astrid's location is kept secret and those who created her maintain unlisted telephone numbers and have adopted precautions for the protection of themselves and their families. The environmentalists, while less outspoken on the issue, feel that transgenic animals might somehow enter into the biotope occupied by other animals and pollute the native gene banks.

Their objection is not to Astrid, per se, but to bio-engineered species in general - an objection voiced by some, but by no means all, of the environmental protection groups.

One thing of interest here is that no one has yet reported the reaction of the Rabbinate or the Islamic authorities to the idea of such transplants, but it can be safely predicted that they will soon have something to say about the matter.

As has happened in so many cases, such as artificial insemination, in vitro fertilization, and surrogate motherhood, they will simply have no choice.

Company offers whopping Christmas bonus to employees

SETTING a staggering new standard for generosity to employees, the co-founders of an Orange County technology company unveiled a \$100 million bonus package at the company's seasonal holiday party, and will soon begin giving workers checks for up to three times their annual salaries.

With payments averaging \$75,000, the largesse represents employees' share of the \$1.5 billion windfall received by David Tu and John Tu when they sold 80 percent of the Kingston Technology Corp. - the world's largest maker of computer memory products - to Softbank Corp. of Japan earlier this year.

Tu and Sun were by no means obligated to share the wealth. But in an age when employees are commonly treated as costs and Wall Street cheers executives nicknamed "Chainsaw Al," the gesture is merely the most extreme example in a long tradition of generosity at Kingston.

"To share our success with everybody is the most joy we can have," Sun said to hundreds of cheering employees and their families.

Some fought back tears and others talked of buying houses, helping their parents, or simply saving their bonuses.

"This is beyond my wildest dreams. But everything they do brings me away," said sales representative Brandi LaPlante. "I'm going to get a bigger car to hold my three kids."

Tu and Sun said that about \$60 million will be set aside for future bonuses to workers, but the rest will be doled out immediately.

Depending on seniority and performance, most of the 550 employees will get bonuses ranging from one to three times their annual salaries, meaning some will get \$300,000 or more.

They say their employees are the reason their company sits atop the fiercely competitive computer memory industry.

"They are the ones working hard day in, day out," Tu said.

"Our attitude toward our employees is, 'You deserve this. You deserve more than this.'"

Other US companies have certainly helped their employees become wealthy. Microsoft Corp. has spawned thousands of millionaires in its employee ranks, and Levi Strauss & Co. earlier this year offered its 37,000 workers an incentive program that could be worth \$750 million if certain goals are met over the next five years.

But those cases, and many others, involve stock option programs that allow employees to buy their company's stock at a discounted price and sell it later for a profit.

Kingston is unique because employees are being given cash Tu and Sun could easily keep for

themselves.

"I've never heard of anything like this," said Jeffrey Pfeffer, a professor at Stanford University's business school.

"It is momentous, particularly because it is being done voluntarily."

Kingston is not the first company to discover that a family-values approach can be a formula for success. In their own ways, Southwest Airlines, Hewlett-Packard, and others have also prospered by taking good care of employees.

"It's how you look at your work force," Pfeffer said. "When I look at you do I see a cost, or do I see you as the only thing that separates me from my competition?"

(Los Angeles Times)

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

Monday, December 30, 1996

Finance Committee: Deficit must drop to 1.5% of GDP by 2001

EVELYN GORDON

A bill which would set definite limits for the deficit in each of the next five years moved another step forward yesterday when it was approved by the Knesset Finance Committee.

Avner's 9-month deficit totals NIS 501 million

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

AVNER Insurance completed the third quarter of 1996 with an accumulated deficit of NIS 501.12 million, compared with a net loss of NIS 811.14m. at the end of 1995.

The consortium insurance company, which compensates automobile accident victims, had an accumulated deficit of NIS 1 billion at the start of January 1995.

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Yishai won't renew foreign workers' visas

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

SOME 120,000 foreign workers' work permits are due to expire tomorrow, because the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs won't agree to their renewal, the Association of Contractors and Builders said yesterday.

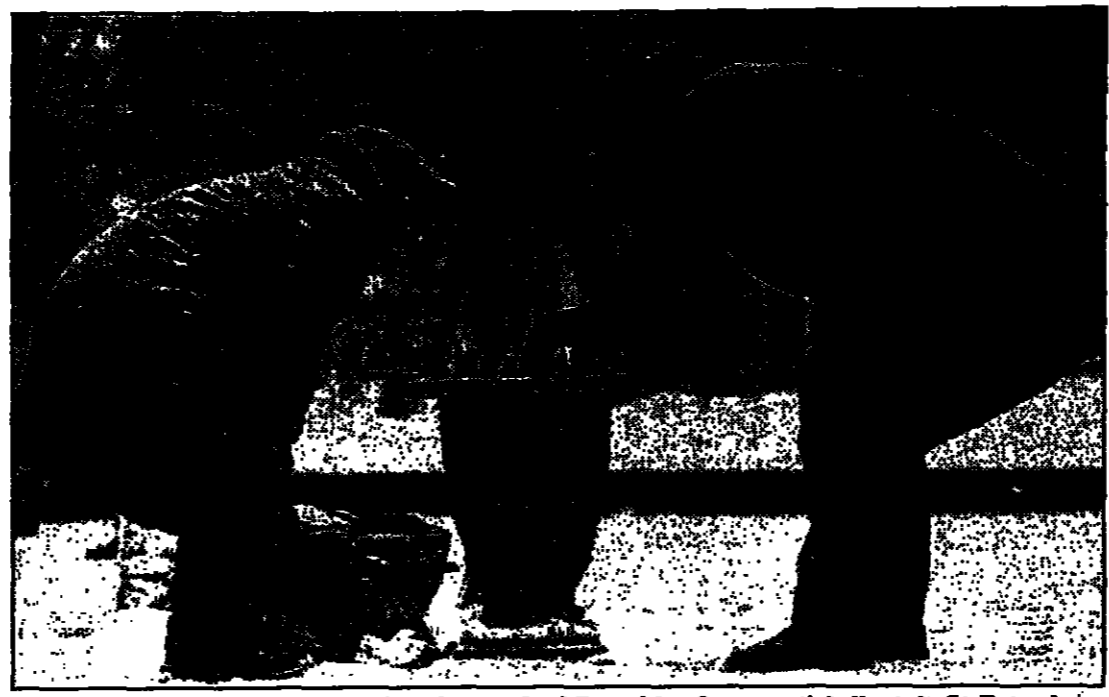
The licenses were last extended in June, for six months, one month before the licenses' original expiration date.

"Within one night all of the foreign workers will become illegal workers. They will not be able to withdraw their wages from the banks and may even decide to move to new fields of activity," Shlomo Heit, vice president of the association, said at a press conference yesterday.

of the association, said thousands of workers who left the country to spend Christmas with their families will not be allowed back into the country. A shortage of workers, he said, will make it very difficult for contractors to continue to work and meet building timetables.

Labor and Social Affairs Minister Eli Yishai. As a result, almost all workers in the construction and agriculture sectors will be declared illegal.

At the press conference, the contractors criticized Tzipi Galyam's proposal to impose an annual tax of NIS 3,300 on each foreign worker and to increase the guarantee employers pay on workers to NIS 8,000 from the existing NIS 2,500.



Two elderly photographers play chess in a park while waiting for potential clients in St. Petersburg yesterday.

Bank of Israel warns against rising tax burden

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN and news agencies

THE sharp rise in the budget deficit and borrowing over the last two years would force the government to increase taxes in coming years, a report issued yesterday by the Bank of Israel said.

"This deficit ... was financed from public borrowing, both at home and overseas, against the background of insignificant privatization revenues," the statement issued by the central bank's monetary division said.

A spokesperson from the Bank of Israel said that while an increased deficit and increased borrowing necessitate increased taxes, the bank continues to maintain its stand against imposing a greater burden on the public.

is too high," the spokesperson said. "What we are saying is that we need to lower the deficit."

The report said the government's combined domestic and foreign deficit had nearly doubled from the years 1993-94 to 1995-96. The deficit grew to approximately NIS 11 billion a year on average in 1995-96, compared with about NIS 6b. annually in 1993-94.

The wider deficit was financed by a one-third increase in domestic and overseas borrowing during the period. As a result, government borrowing for new and recycled debt grew to about NIS 36b. annually in 1995 and 1996, up from approximately NIS 27b. annually in 1993 and 1994.

The Bank of Israel noted that the proportion of overall debt not linked to inflation had grown sharply. Unlinked borrowing accounted for 28% of total borrowing in 1996, up from just 6% in 1993.

The transition to unlinked borrowing has caused a reduction in the terms of government bonds, the bank said. Unlinked bonds this year were offered for terms of one to five years, "a term shorter than all other domestic fundraising instruments," it said.

Overall, the average term for domestic bonds fell to five years in 1996 from 7.3 years in 1993.

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BUSINESS BRIEFS

Former BCCI affiliate gives first result in years: A former affiliate in the United Arab Emirates of the failed Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) has reported its first results since BCCI collapsed amid allegations of massive fraud in 1991.

Romania doubles fuel prices ahead of visit by IMF: Romania's government said yesterday it would double fuel prices in the New Year to help cover losses caused by the depreciating lei currency and to meet International Monetary Fund recommendations for the economy.

Egypt gives new privatization target: The minister in charge of Egypt's privatization program has said the state will sell shares in 51 public-sector companies during 1997 - a lower target than the minister has given in previous statements.

Swedish opposition to EMU grows: Swedish opposition to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is growing with more than four out of 10 Swedes against the idea, a survey by pollster Temo showed on Saturday.

Jordanian ministers visit Iraq on oil mission: Energy Minister Hashem Dabbas and Finance Minister Marwan Awad left for Iraq yesterday to discuss Iraqi oil supplies to the kingdom for 1997.

Iran, Turkey and Turkmenistan sign natural gas deal: Iran, Turkey and Turkmenistan have formally signed an agreement to pipe natural gas from Turkmenistan via Iran to Turkey and Europe, the Islamic Republic News Agency reported yesterday.

British Labor Party rejects pact with unions: Britain's opposition Labor Party yesterday rejected a formal partnership with the trade unions if the party wins the next general election.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS. Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.96). Currency (deposit rate) 3 MONTHS 6 MONTHS 12 MONTHS.

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (27.12.96). CHECKS AND TRANSFERS. Currency basket Buy Sell.

Table with columns for Currency basket, Buy, Sell, BANKNOTES, Rep. Rates. Includes rows for U.S. dollar, German mark, Pound sterling, etc.

Key Representative Rates

US Dollar ... NIS 3.2810 +0.01%
Sterling ... NIS 5.4824 +0.01%
Mark ... NIS 2.0983 +0.01%

Silver falls on profit-taking
COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

PRECIOUS metals futures closed mixed Friday, with March silver falling to slight losses on profit-taking, sources said.

March silver and February gold were supported by options expirations in London. End-of-the-year book-squaring was mostly seen in precious metals as funds began easing out of their positions, while banks and dealers have been relatively quiet over the past week.

February gold closed steady at \$371.10; March silver was 1.5 cents lower at \$4.9113; April platinum was unchanged at \$375.10 and March palladium ended 65 cents lower at \$118.75.

After spending most of Friday morning trading in a narrow range, the March high grade copper futures contract closed 110 basis points lower at \$0.9860. The Japanese weak economy and stock market as well as its poor industrial production has dampened the demand for copper. Nervousness over the tomorrow's London Metal Exchange warehouse stock figures have also resulted in a lower demand for this metal.

February crude oil settled 30 cents higher at \$25.22; January heating oil closed up 49 points at 70.55 cents; January unleaded gasoline settled 28 points higher at 69.36 cents and February natural gas closed 40.4 cents lower at \$2.980.

New York cotton futures settled lower on mostly local and some commercial trade selling. Wet weather conditions in northern Argentina and Paraguay has slowed planting and favorable weather conditions in Texas is enabling harvesting. There have been no significant delays in Australia's planting or India's harvesting and analysts are predicting that India's bumper crop could lead to heavy exports in the 1996-1997 season.

Orange, juice futures settled sharply lower on speculator selling and commercial trade hedging. Generally favorable weather conditions exist for Florida's trees and fruit as harvesting continues and no damaging cold weather is expected this coming week.

Markets will close early tomorrow and will remain closed Wednesday for New Year's Day.

Courtesy of Michael Zweibler, ComStock Trading Ltd.

China to favor US, Europe in retail sector

BEIJING (Reuters) - China said on Saturday it would expand cooperation with foreigners in the nation's retail sector and that big companies from the US and Europe would be given priority.

But the official China Daily newspaper said Beijing wanted to ensure that Chinese firms retained majority control in retail joint venture projects.

The newspaper quoted Huang Hai, director-general of the Ministry of Internal Trade's policy and regulation department, as saying that China would ease restrictions on the number and location of foreign-invested stores.

ROSS

(Continued from Page 1) readiness of the two sides to continue the process will be attached to the agreement. It is said to be 10 pages long.

Meanwhile, officials in the Prime Minister's Office say Netanyahu does not want a big peace ceremony as part of the signing of the Hebron accord.

As one US official put it last night, "The image this government wants to create is one of anguish and not celebration" so as to persuade right-wing constituents that the decision was taken with a heavy heart. An aide to Netanyahu said, "We want something low-key. This prime minister doesn't want balloons. The last government believed ceremonies had a favorable psychological impact on the population. We don't subscribe to this point of view."

Meanwhile, Shai Bazak, the prime minister's spokesman, denied a report in The Jerusalem Post that in a memo written over the last two months, General Security Service officials recommended Netanyahu consider removing the Hebron settlers after a Hebron deal, fearing that settler provocations could lead to bloodshed. Nonetheless, informed sources stand by the story.

S. Korean strikes will cost Seoul \$1b. by year-end

SEOUL - Strikes that have crippled much of South Korean industry will cost the country more than \$1 billion in lost production by the end of the year, the trade ministry said at the weekend.

Strikes, which have engulfed South Korea since Thursday, turned violent for the first time over the weekend as rock-throwing workers backed by students fought pitched battles with riot police in Seoul. The 20,000 striking laborers were calling on parliament to abolish a new law that makes it easier for companies to fire employees.

On Saturday, police unleashed barrages of tear gas canisters at about 6,000 workers to stop them marching down a busy thoroughfare to Myeongdong Cathedral in the city center in protest at the tough

new labor law, witnesses said. Police vehicles spraying tear gas saturated marchers, who responded by ripping up paving stones and hurling them at squads of officers. At least six protesters were hauled away, witnesses said.

"We will respond to force with force," said Kim Young-dea, vice-president of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, the sponsor of the rally. "We will carry out strikes as planned and no rallies will be cancelled."

The government has condemned the stoppages as illegal and threatened unspecified "punishment" but has so far shown restraint in handling some of the worst industrial strife since the late 1980s.

Meanwhile, snowballing strikes that have devastated industry now

threaten the financial sector. Banking unions announced a one-day stoppage next Saturday and said a decision would be taken later on whether to extend the action.

Tellers and clerks at commercial banks and mutual savings firms feel vulnerable because financial markets are expected to spook a wave of mergers in the heavily-protected industry, resulting in job cuts.

Next Saturday's strikes will also affect the central Bank of Korea. But transport chaos was largely averted when non-union drivers kept trains running on the Seoul subway. Nurses and orderlies at three major hospitals walked out, bringing to 17 the number of medical centers forced to close all but emergency care.

The government said stoppages that have almost completely idled

car and ship production will cost the country more than \$1 billion in lost production by the year's end. This was on top of \$3.2b. already lost through strikes.

Unions claimed 375,000 workers at around 700 work sites had joined the walkout by Saturday. Two union umbrella bodies have called out their combined membership of 1.7 million. Workers fear the law means that decades of job security are coming to an end, while the government argues that more flexible labor practices will secure jobs in the long run.

Clashes broke out after workers broke away from a three-hour rally in a park to denounce the government of President Kim Young-sam for passing the labor law in a clandestine session of parliament Thursday. (News agencies)

Shares end lower as strike thins trading

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

DAN GERSTENFELD



Two-Sided Index

SHARES closed lower yesterday as volume fell in response to an outbreak of strikes around the country, traders said.

The trading session ended 15 minutes early when the strike finally spread to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

The benchmark Two-sided index of the top 100 shares fell 0.30 percent, or 0.63 points, to 208.39 on a low all-share turnover of NIS 57 million against NIS 79m. Thursday.

The Maof 25 blue chip index lost 0.21% to 216.55.

"The market is dead. The trading day ended earlier today because of the strike and activity was low. A few of the banks went on reduced schedules, which had a strong impact on trading," said a trader at Bank Leumi.

The Histadrut called the nationwide strike yesterday morning following the arrest of a trade union official for not appearing in court in connection with strikes last week.

"We saw also some profit-taking and investors are taking a wait-

Maof Index

and-see position. It's difficult to say what the market will do in the near future," the trader added.

"The market made a very nice move over the last two months and investors are a little jittery," said Danni Scharia at Capital Securities.

"Investors are waiting for fresh news. They want to see approval of the budget and an agreement on Hebron," Scharia added. "We are getting closer to the end of the year and nobody knows how the new year will open."

The Knesset is expected to vote on the 1997 budget tomorrow or shortly thereafter. Meanwhile, Israeli and Palestinian negotiators were due to meet late yesterday in another round of talks to complete an accord on redeployment from Hebron.

The most active shares were Teva Pharmaceutical Industries, which gained 1.5% on volume of NIS 4.2m.; Bank Leumi, which gained 1.75% on turnover of NIS 3m.; and Koor Industries, which fell 0.75% on volume of NIS 2.5m. (Reuters)

Jordan parliament endorses 1997 budget

AMMAN (Reuters) - The Jordanian government Saturday approved for its 1997 budget, amid criticism of IMF-directed economic reforms that have been blamed for fuelling poverty and unemployment.

The vote after four heated sessions of debate this week in the 80-seat lower house was 53-15 in favour of the 1.92 billion dinar (NIS 9 billion) budget that reflects the last two years of an accelerated IMF-structural reform program ending late 1998.

The Islamist opposition opposition along with centrist deputies from across the political spectrum criticized government policies that they said exacerbated growing social inequalities and led to an erosion in real wages, fuelling poverty among Jordan's 4.2 million population.

"People have become accustomed to bear figures in the budget that talk about growth but feel none of it... only more price hikes, unemployment and poverty," Islamist deputy Mohammed Oweidat told the chamber.

Prime Minister Abdul Karim al-Kabari, defending the government against critics, said state spending will bolster aid to the poor as Jordan steps up IMF-directed market reforms. Kabari, saying an economic liberalization drive will help attain a growth target of 6.50 percent in 1997, also unveiled a \$400 million four-pronged social package spread over six years to help ease the country's poverty levels.

The plan entailed extra capital investment to boost infrastructure in poorer areas, setting up funds to finance small scale projects and large scale training projects to rehabilitate the poor and unem-

employed, Kabari said. Officials say the package, prepared along with the World Bank and to which international donors will contribute, should help the country go through a transitional period of painful economic reforms.

World Bank estimates put poverty in Jordan at around 20% with a 15% unemployment rate. Officials say expanding projects to help Jordan's poor has topped Jordan's economic agenda after riots broke out last August in the underdeveloped south of the country when the government hiked the price of bread.

Economists and officials alike express growing fears at the potential for social unrest with a widening gap between poor and rich that could derail expanded IMF reforms begun in 1996. Finance Minister Marwan Awad assured deputies that helping alleviate the social impact on the poor of IMF-directed economic reforms was a top priority.

But in an admission of the impact of bread price-hikes on living standards for ordinary Jordanians, for whom bread is the main staple diet, Awad said inflation rose in the 10 months of 1996 to 7%. The government has previously said the inflation rate has been constant at around 3%.

The 1997 budget deficit is estimated at 225 million dinars, without factoring in foreign aid, or 3.9% of GDP against a readjusted 237 million dinars, or 4.6% of GDP in 1996.

Table with multiple columns: Multi-sided trading, Two-sided trading, AFTERNOON, MORNING. Lists various stock symbols and their prices/changes.

HISTADRUT

(Continued from Page 1) organizations from all sectors of the economy converged on Netanyahu's office yesterday and urged him to take firm action against the Histadrut, so that foreign investors are not deterred from dealing with Israel. Many of the participants in the meeting stressed they were not of Netanyahu's political persuasion but that on this issue they are siding with him.

The employers wanted the government to seek back-to-work orders from the courts and to enforce them. They said the deductions from employees' pay, which will not be turned over to the Histadrut, will be used as compensation for some of the losses caused by the strike. They also will initiate legal action to win further compensation, they declared.

Chamber of Commerce head Danny Gilerman spoke for the other employers and users of services provided by the ports, utilities and facilities shut down, when he called the strikes "a Bolshevik move of a burnt-out trade federation."

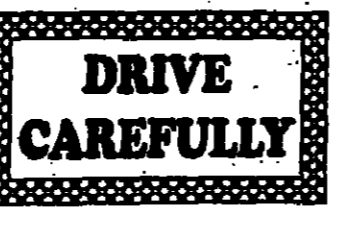
Meridor warned the Histadrut to step back from the brink, hinting at dire repercussions if it did not. He accused the Histadrut of "having gone way too far this time. It has violated every rule possible. There isn't anyone who can understand what this strike is all about. Even protest must have a reason and some rules or will

all sink into unredeemable anarchy." Meridor said, "This is an attempt to terrorize the labor courts."

Peretz complained about the general public's "annoyance and impatience with the hardships caused by the strikes. I understand that people are suffering, but they must realize that we are doing this for them. It's for their own good."

"I wonder about people in this country," he added.

Judy Siegel adds: Kupat Holim Clalit community clinics, including the emergency medicine centers, will be open today, despite sanctions by nurses, pharmacists and administrative workers. All doctors will be on the job and work normally, management said yesterday. Members who require medications can go to the private pharmacies with which the health fund has supply arrangements. Clalit's hospitals, however, will function according to a reduced Shabbat schedule.



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Pittsburgh, Dallas persevere

Steelers smash Colts, 42-14

PITTSBURGH (AP) — As soon as the Pittsburgh Steelers took the ball out of Mike Tomczak's hands and gave it to Jerome Bettis and Kordell Stewart, the Indianapolis Colts ran out of miracles.

Bettis saved a Steelers offense that was threatening yet another big-game meltdown, running for two second-half touchdowns and 102 yards as Pittsburgh survived another erratic day by Tomczak to beat the Colts 42-14 yesterday in the AFC playoffs.

Bettis, who guesses his sore ankle is only 80 percent healed, scored on the Steelers' first two drives of a 29-point second half. Stewart later replaced Tomczak to lead two more scoring drives. Jon Witman scored his first NFL touchdown on a 31-yard run, and Stewart — starting another Steelers quarterback controversy — added another on a 3-yard bootleg.

The Steelers, who had lost three of their previous four as Tomczak labored through a horrendous second-half slump, play Sunday at New England, where they haven't played since the 1979 season. The Patriots had a first-round bye.

Maybe, just like the Dallas Cowboys did in beating up on the Minnesota Vikings on Saturday, it took the playoffs to get the Steelers' attention.

Still, the Colts seemingly had some magic left in them from last season's dramatic drive to the AFC championship game they lost in Pittsburgh 20-16. Indianapolis scored twice in four minutes late in the second quarter to turn what was looking like a blowout into a 14-13 halftime lead.

Both of the scores came off Tomczak-throwing interceptions, including Eugene Daniel's 59-yard touchdown return that made it 13-7 and came just as the Colts appeared ready to go down easy. Their offense had yet to cross the 50-yard line when Daniel stepped in front of Tomczak's pass intended for Ernie Mills.

But the Colts couldn't take it to the final play this time like they

Cowboys rout Vikings, 40-15

IRVING, Texas (AP) — The Dallas Cowboys finally played like defending Super Bowl champions.

Dallas discovered its missing offense, George Teague was a one-man gang on defense, and the Cowboys knocked the Minnesota Vikings out of the playoffs 40-15 in an NFC wild-card game Saturday.

The Cowboys, who struggled to a 10-6 regular-season record before winning the NFC East for the fifth consecutive time, will play the Carolina Panthers at Charlotte next Sunday in the NFC divisional round.

"This team is still what it is and hasn't fallen out of sight," said coach Barry Switzer. "We made a statement today. We're still the team to beat for the Super Bowl."

The Cowboys took out all their frustrations on the Vikings after a chaotic regular season of suspensions, injuries and underachieving performances.

"We turned it up a level," Switzer said. "We played a total offensive game, and the defense was just great. George Teague had an amazing game."

The Vikings self-destructed in the biggest scoring half in Dallas playoff history as the Cowboys rolled to a 30-0 lead at intermission. The Cowboys forced five turnovers and cashed them into 23 points.

On offense, Troy Aikman, Michael Irvin and Emmitt Smith executed like they did in winning three Super Bowls in the last four years. Teague made three big defensive plays to stun the Vikings, who qualified for the playoffs with a 9-7 regular season and were seeded sixth.

"This is a message for whoever has been talking trash about the Cowboys," said Smith.

Smith, dogged by injuries and even benched at one time during the season, scored twice and set or tied five NFL playoff records for rushing and scoring. He rushed for 116 yards on 17 carries.

Aikman ran for a touchdown, passed for one and completed 19

of 29 passes for 178 yards. He is 11-1 in playoff starts and is second only to Green Bay's Bart Starr in playoff ratings.

Irvin, who missed five games under NFL suspension, had his best game of the year by catching eight passes for 103 yards.

"The defense has been winning games and it's time the offense got started and we did today," Irvin said.

Aikman, Smith and Irvin sat out most of the fourth quarter resting for next week's game.

Dallas, ranked 24th offensively in the NFL, struck on its first possession as Aikman completed four passes for 65 yards to Irvin in an 88-yard touchdown drive. The payoff came when Aikman rolled right and scored from 2 yards out.

Then came a bizarre play that took the heart out of the Vikings. Amp Lee took a short pass over the middle and appeared on the way for a 43-yard touchdown. However, Teague caught Lee at the Dallas 1 and poked the ball out of his hands and out of the end zone for a touchback.

"I don't think Lee knew I was there," Teague said. "I just punched the ball out of his arms."

Lee knew Teague was there and tried to tuck the ball away.

"I take full responsibility," Lee said. "That early in the game if we get seven points we make a statement. If we score there it's 7-7, they came out with a lot of emotion but we could take it away."

"From that play everything snowballed against us."

Chris Boswell then kicked the first of his four field goals, a 28-yarder.

Minnesota coach Dennis Green said "whatever they needed to get done offensively or defensively they got done."

Green said the game turned on Lee's mistake.

"Amp made one of the best plays of the day but got careless," Green said.



PASSING GLANCE — Dallas Cowboys QB Troy Aikman completed 19 out of 29 passes for 178 yards against the Minnesota Vikings on Saturday.

Beasant blunder puts Liverpool five points clear

SOUTHAMPTON (AP) — An embarrassing blunder by goalkeeper Dave Beasant handed Liverpool a five-point lead atop the English Premier League standings yesterday in a 1-0 victory over Southampton.

Trying to avoid conceding a corner, the goalkeeper ran out of his area wide to the right of his goal and aimed a clearance upfield. The ball went straight to Liverpool's John Barnes who celebrated his 300th league appearance for Liverpool by scoring with a perfectly-measured, first-time 35-yard shot into an empty net.

The ball seemed to take an eternity to reach the back of the net but the shot just had enough speed

to beat the despairing dive of the goalkeeper.

The result gave Liverpool 42 points from 21 games although all its rivals had at least one game in hand. Manchester United and Arsenal have 37 points from 20 and Wimbledon 37 from 19. Newcastle and Aston Villa have 34 and Chelsea 32.

Southampton remains last after its seventh loss in eight league games and has 16 points. Nottingham Forest is last with 14.

Before Beasant's blunder, Saints had several chances to go ahead but were defied by Liverpool goalkeeper David James.

He twice kept out shots from substitute Matthew Le Tissier and

Team	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Liverpool	12	6	3	38	19	42
Manchester Utd	10	7	3	42	25	37
Arsenal	10	7	3	37	20	37
Wimbledon	11	4	4	33	23	37
Newcastle	10	4	6	35	22	34
Aston Villa	10	4	6	29	18	34
Chelsea	10	4	4	32	28	32
Everton	10	7	6	29	27	28
Sheff. Wed.	10	6	4	21	22	28
Tottenham	10	4	8	22	26	28
Derby	10	5	7	20	26	28
Leicester	10	6	5	20	27	28
Sunderland	10	6	5	19	28	28
Coventry	10	7	8	20	25	22
Leeds	10	6	4	10	16	22
West Ham	10	5	6	8	16	21
Middezbrough	10	4	10	25	38	19
Blackburn	10	4	8	17	22	17
Southampton	10	4	12	28	37	16
Notts Forest	2	2	8	10	38	14

Stewart century steers England to safety

HARARE (Reuters) — A monumental 101 not out from Alec Stewart led England's fightback against Zimbabwe on the fourth day of the second Test at Harare Sports Club yesterday.

Stewart on 10 overnight, batted through the day to play and reached his ninth Test century just before the close when England were 195 for three in their second innings, a lead of 136.

It was the gritty, adhesive kind of innings which had been so lacking from England's first effort when they were dismissed for just 156.

Impatience was replaced by caution as Stewart simply bided his time and waited for the runs to come.

In the course of his knock, he passed Pakistan's Saeed Anwar as the highest Test run scorer in this calendar year.

He had been at the crease for

eight minutes over six hours and faced 259 balls when he brought up his hundred by dispatching fast bowler Henry Olonga through the covers for his eighth boundary.

The Surrey captain received good support from his county colleague Graham Thorpe, coming together at 89 for three, with England leading by the slender margin of just 30 runs, the pair responded with an unbroken fourth-wicket stand of 106.

Thorpe, dropped by Paul Strang off a difficult chance at point when he was on 37, has been in dismal form on this tour, but showed his fighting spirit in making an unbeaten 50 from 169 balls with six fours.

Leg-spinner Strang picked up the only two wickets to fall during the day.

In the morning session he had

Nick Knight caught by Alistair Campbell at slip for 30 and then, shortly after lunch, Nasser Hussain was well caught by Dave Houghton at short extra-cover for six.

But that was Zimbabwe's last success as Stewart and Thorpe first-batted England back into the game and then doggedly built a platform from which, given good weather on the final day today, they might yet win.

England first innings 156 (A.Watson 4-18; H.Saunders 4-49; Zimbabwe first innings 215 (G.Flower 7-8; D.Gough 4-40)

England second innings (overnight 17-1)

N.Knight c Campbell b Strang 30

M.Ali c Campbell b Strang 1

A.Stewart not out 101

N.Hussain c Houghton b Strang 5

G.Thorpe not out 50

Total for three wickets 195

Fall of wickets: 1-7 2-75 3-88

Fourth Day: England 18-4-4-1, Brando 21-6-45-0 (w), Olonga 7-0-31-0 (nb), Whittall 14-6-18-0, Strang 26-8-42-2, G.Flower 7-2-8-0

South Africa stops India

DURBAN (Reuters) — Superb bowling from Allan Donald paved the way for a South African victory over India, who made just 66 their second innings in the first Test at Kingsmead on Saturday.

South Africa won by 228 runs after Donald, who took five wickets in India's first innings, rocked the Indian top order on the third day with a hostile opening spell three for 10 in six overs.

Generating extreme pace on pitch still offering plenty bounce, the 30-year-old finish with second innings figures four for 14 as India were bowled out for a meagre 66 in 34.1 over their joint fourth-lowest test total.

Donald was supported by Sha Pollock, who took three for 7 and Lance Klusener, who return figures of two for 16.

Jordan scores 45 points as Bulls overpower Cavaliers

CHICAGO (AP) — Michael Jordan scored 45 points and the Chicago Bulls used an up-tempo attack to burn the Cleveland Cavaliers' usually stingy defense in a 102-97 victory on Saturday.

The Cavaliers came in as the NBA's top defensive team, allowing only 82 points a game. But the Bulls had that after three quarters and went on become just the third team to score 100 against Cleveland this season.

Scottie Pippen added 18 points for the Bulls, who rebounded from Thursday's loss at Atlanta and improved to a league-best 26-4.

Bobby Phills scored 17 points for Cleveland, which lost for only the second time in its last eight games.

Knicks 96, Magic 85

Host New York blew an 18-point third-quarter lead, but held off an Orlando Magic rally for the second time this season.

Patrick Ewing scored 17 of his points in the first half as the Knicks won their eighth straight game.

Ewing made 9-of-16 field-goal attempts to lead the Knicks and Al Houston added 17 points for New York. Earlier this season, New York nearly blew a 25-point lead before beating the Magic.

Gerard Wilkins scored 21 points including 15 during a 29-12 run rally the Magic in the second half.

Team: NY, 76ers 84

Karl Malone scored 17 points in the third quarter before being ejected host Utah routed Philadelphia.

SATURDAY'S NBA RESULTS:

New York 96, Orlando 85

Utah 118, Philadelphia 84

Washington 97, Atlanta 86

Detroit 97, Charlotte 75

Minnesota 103, Denver 96, OT

Houston 104, Golden State 95

Chicago 102, Cleveland 97

Dallas 95, Seattle 90

Phoenix 103, Vancouver 98

Sacramento 126, Boston 96

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Washington	15	13	.538	8 1/2
Orlando	10	18	.400	10
Philadelphia	8	19	.296	13
New Jersey	7	18	.280	13
Boston	5	21	.192	15 1/2

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	25	4	.867	-
Detroit	21	7	.750	4
Cleveland	18	10	.643	7
Atlanta	16	11	.598	8 1/2
Charlotte	15	13	.538	10
Memphis	15	13	.530	10
Indiana	13	15	.460	11
Toronto	10	19	.345	15 1/2

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	23	6	.793	-
Utah	22	6	.786	-
Minnesota	12	17	.414	14
Dallas	10	17	.370	16
Denver	8	21	.278	18
San Antonio	6	18	.240	20
L.A. Clippers	6	18	.240	20
Phoenix	9	19	.321	17

Pacific Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
L.A. Lakers	21	9	.700	-
Seattle	15	15	.500	5
Portland	13	17	.433	7
Sacramento	11	18	.379	9
Golden State	11	18	.379	9
L.A. Clippers	10	18	.345	10
Phoenix	9	19	.321	11

NHL SCOREBOARD

SATURDAY'S NHL RESULTS: Hartford 3, Ottawa 2; Detroit 7, N.Y. Islanders 1; Pittsburgh 2, Buffalo 0; New Jersey 5, Anaheim 3; Florida 1, Washington 4; Tampa Bay 4, St. Louis 2; Toronto 5, Chicago 4; Edmonton 5, San Jose 2.

